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PLUTARCH'S
MORALIA
III

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

III

172 A—263 C

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

FRANK COLE BABBITT

TRINITY COLLEGE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

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PREFACE

The translation found in this volume is doubtless open to criticism from more sources than that in the volumes which have preceded it, since much of the matter which it contains is familiar to many people, and many of the *Sayings* have come to be a part of our everyday language.

There are doubtless omissions in the numerous references, and some references to the more familiar stories it was necessary to curtail for lack of space, but it is to be hoped that, on the whole, the references may prove to be fuller than those to be found elsewhere, and that the necessary clues have been given in the case of the curtailed references, so that anyone interested may be able to follow them up.

To the bibliography in Vol. I. p. xxvi is to be added an interesting book: W. R. Halliday, *The Greek Questions of Plutarch*, with a New Translation and a Commentary (Oxford, 1928).

At the time when this volume stands completed the second volume of the text of the *Moralia* in the Teubner edition has not appeared, and, in the main, one must still depend on the editions of Wyttenbach and Bernardakis.

However, the grant of a subvention by the American Council of Learned Societies has made it possible to

procure photostatic copies of a few of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque National at Paris, and anyone who has had the experience knows the satisfaction in seeing with one's own eyes the reading of a MS. instead of having to depend on the (sometimes careless) collation of another.

As a result, a good many readings of Bernardakis's text have been silently corrected. It is evident that Bernardakis did not collate some MSS. which he says in his preface that he did collate, or else his collation was careless in the extreme. Several of his critical notes are but corrections of imaginary errors, which do not exist in the MSS. which he did not collate!

It is quite clear that, in the MSS. of the *Sayings*, occasionally a part of a word (or more rarely a whole word or a part of a sentence) has been omitted. If this be accepted as a working hypothesis, it may serve in some cases to further the criticism of the text, and to explain some of the dubious readings of the MSS.

F. C. B.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
HARTFORD, CONN.
August 1929.

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SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS

(REGUM ET IMPERATORUM APOPHTHEGMATA)

INTRODUCTION

ANYONE who reads some of the many articles which have been written about the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* found in Plutarch's works would almost certainly gain the impression that the whole book is a tasteless forgery; yet a closer study would probably convince him that the *Sayings* are, in the main, just as truly the work of Plutarch as the poems of Sappho or Alcaeus which we now possess are the works of those authors. The only question, then, is how it happens that the *Sayings* stand in their present form, and this will doubtless serve as a topic for debate in the future, as it has in the past, since it can never be definitely settled.

The assumption that the whole book is a forgery can only be regarded as nonsense. Many of the stories included here are found also in other writers, such, for example, as Aelian, Polyaenus, or Valerius Maximus, and the relation between the versions found in the different writers is quite the same as the relation between other stories found in the indisputably genuine works of Plutarch and the versions found in other writers.

A second assumption that some of the stories were put together by a later writer who copied them largely from Plutarch's *Lives* (when there were Lives from which they could be copied) is more plausible

in the case of many of the *Sayings*, especially since the versions often coincide (in whole or part) in language. At the same time a comparison of the versions found here with the versions found in the *Lives*, for example, of Phocion, or Fabius Maximus, or the elder Cato, will probably serve to convince an unprejudiced reader that these were not copied verbatim from the *Lives*, but that they have been put down independently from the same or the original source. A special stress is laid by those who uphold this theory upon the words ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον (196 E), but that again is only a natural observation which anyone writing a memorandum might properly make regarding that incident, and anyone enthusiastic in supporting the genuineness of the *Sayings* might equally well suggest that this was an observation of some copyist, put down as a marginal note, which has crept into the text.

There remains, then, the possibility that the *Sayings* are in the main the work of Plutarch, written by him in practically their present form, and that some of these were copied into the *Lives* rather than from the *Lives*. Plutarch himself tells us, in *Moralia* 464 F and 457 D,[a] that he was in the habit of making collections of notes of this sort, and certainly nothing could be more natural than that the author of the *Lives*, to say nothing of the *Moralia*, should get together some of his material in more accessible form, especially in view of the difficulty, in ancient times, of consulting books, which were written and kept in the form of a roll. The arrangement of the *Sayings of Kings and*

[a] In 457 D ff. Plutarch gives some examples of the kind of anecdotes which he is wont to collect, and some of these are identical with those found in the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders*.

Commanders is roughly chronological, with some retrogressions. The Greeks (and Persians) and the Romans are grouped separately. If these sayings were extracted from the *Lives* by a writer as dull-witted as many would have us believe he was, it might reasonably be expected that he would have jumbled the Greeks and the Romans together as they are alternated in the *Lives*, but such is not the case. It will be noted that the names of the Spartans whose sayings are recorded in a similar collection are arranged in alphabetical order for convenience in consultation.

In Lamprias's catalogue of Plutarch's works the *Sayings of Kings and Commanders* is listed as No. 108, and Stobaeus, in his *Florilegium*, quotes from it freely. Of the large number of quotations from this work which are to be found in Stobaeus an overwhelming majority agree in language either verbatim or almost verbatim, and are not in agreement verbatim with variant versions found elsewhere in the *Lives* or the *Moralia* or in Aelian or Polyaenus. In one case Stobaeus (*Florilegium*, liv. 43 = *Moralia* 788 D and not 187 C) seems to have preferred a version found elsewhere in the *Moralia*, and in one other case (vii. 48 = Life of *Lycurgus*, chap. xx. 4, rather than *Moralia*, 190 D, or 215 D) a version found in the *Lives*. It is clear, then, that the book was in existence as an independent volume in the time of Stobaeus, and probably earlier.

Whether Plutarch ever meant that this collection should be published, or whether he himself provided the introduction addressed to the Emperor Trajan, are questions of minor importance. In ancient times, no doubt, as in later days royalty could not afford to

spend too much time with books, and welcomed predigested information.

Plutarch very seldom tells the same story in the same words. Over and over again in his works we find a story repeated with minor variations in language, or in expansion or condensation, which often serve to adapt it better to its context, or, again, seem to serve no purpose except to avoid sameness ; and so with the stories in this collection : when they are repeated in other parts of Plutarch's works they almost always show the same minor variations which are so characteristic of Plutarch.[a]

It is an interesting academic study, for those to whom such studies appeal, to compare the different versions of the same story, and to try to draw conclusions as to which version is derived from the other, or the others (as has been done by Carl Schmidt, *De apophthegmatum quae sub Plutarchi nomine feruntur collectionibus*, Greifswalde, 1879),[b] but such studies are bound to be unconvincing at best.

[a] Of the hundred or two hundred or more examples which might be cited (and which may be found by consulting the footnotes in the following pages) three or four must here suffice. One may compare the four accounts of Ada's cooks (180 A), or the three versions of Antigonus's modesty (183 C), or the remark of Lysimachus to Philippides (183 E), copied practically verbatim by Stobaeus, *Florilegium* xlix. 19, which looks like an original memorandum, while the other versions (*Moralia* 508 C and 517 B) appear to be adapted to their context; or the retort of Phocion to Antipater (188 F), six times repeated, in which the language of the retort is always essentially the same, but the setting is regularly adapted to the context.

[b] One may compare also Wilhelm Gemoll, *Das Apophthegma* (Leipzig, 1924), which is a discursive essay on the apophthegm, anecdote, novel, and romance, with relatively little reference to Plutarch.

Of many of the stories there is no variant version. Some were doubtless used in lives or essays by Plutarch which are now lost, and some were doubtless meant to be included in lives or essays which were never written.

The collection in whole or in part is probably as well known as anything that Plutarch has written, for parts of it have become proverbial, and so it is not surprising that some of the sayings have been attributed to other well-known men, both ancient and modern, or that other men both ancient and modern have given utterance to them as their own.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΩΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ

B Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς, ὦ μέγιστε αὐτοκράτορ Καῖσαρ Τραϊανέ, οὐχ ἧττον οἰόμενος βασιλικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι τοῦ μεγάλα διδόναι τὸ μικρὰ λαμβάνειν εὐμενῶς καὶ προθύμως, ἐπεί, παρελαύνοντος αὐτοῦ καθ' ὁδόν, αὐτουργὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἰδιώτης οὐδὲν ἔχων ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις ὕδωρ ὑπολαβὼν προσήνεγκεν, ἡδέως ἐδέξατο καὶ ἐμειδίασε, τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοῦ διδόντος οὐ τῇ χρείᾳ τοῦ διδομένου τὴν χάριν μετρήσας.

C Ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος εὐτελεστάτας ἐποίησεν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὰς θυσίας, ἵνα ἀεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν ἑτοίμως δύνωνται καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων. τοιαύτῃ δή τινι γνώμῃ κἀμοῦ λιτά σοι δῶρα καὶ ξένια καὶ κοινὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφέροντος ἀπὸ φιλοσοφίας, ἅμα τῇ προθυμίᾳ καὶ τὴν χρείαν

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. v. (1013 B C), and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, i. 32.

[b] Plutarch repeats this statement in *Moralia*, 228 D, *Life*

SAYINGS OF KINGS AND COMMANDERS

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN, SUPREME MONARCH; SUCCESS AND PROSPERITY

Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, O Trajan, Emperor Most High and Monarch Supreme, used to think that, as compared with giving large gifts, it was no less the mark of a king and a lover of his fellow-men to accept small gifts graciously and with a ready goodwill; and so, on a time when he was riding by, and a simple labourer, possessed of nothing else, took up water from the river in his two hands and offered it to the king, he accepted it pleasantly and with a cheerful smile, measuring the favour by the ready goodwill of the giver and not by the service rendered by the gift.[a]

Lycurgus made the sacrifices in Sparta very inexpensive,[b] so that people might be able always to honour the gods readily and easily from what they had at hand. And so, with some such thought in mind, I likewise offer to you trifling gifts and tokens of friendship, the common offerings of the first-fruits that come from philosophy,[c] and I beg that you will

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (p. 52 A), and *Commentary on Hesiod*, 26 (*Works and Days*, 336). *Cf.* also Plato, *Alcibiades II.* p. 149 A-C.

[c] *Cf.* Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 343 B.

(172) ἀπόδεξαι τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων, εἰ πρόσφορον ἔχει τι[1] πρὸς κατανόησιν ἠθῶν καὶ προαιρέσεων ἡγεμονικῶν, ἐμφαινομένων τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶν. καίτοι καὶ βίους ἔχει τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων παρά τε Ῥωμαίοις
D καὶ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνων καὶ νομοθετῶν καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων· ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν πράξεων αἱ πολλαὶ τύχην ἀναμεμιγμένην ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ γιγνόμεναι παρὰ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰς τύχας ἀποφάσεις καὶ ἀναφωνήσεις, ὥσπερ ἐν κατόπτροις καθαρῶς παρέχουσι τὴν ἑκάστου διάνοιαν ἀποθεωρεῖν. ἦ[2] καὶ Σειράμνης ὁ Πέρσης πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ὅτι τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ νοῦν ἐχόντων αἱ πράξεις οὐ κατορθοῦνται, τῶν μὲν λόγων ἔφη κύριος αὐτὸς εἶναι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων τὴν τύχην μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

E Ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν ἅμα αἱ ἀποφάσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς πράξεις παρακειμένας ἔχουσαι, σχολάζουσαν φιληκοΐαν περιμένουσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς ὥσπερ δείγματα τῶν βίων καὶ σπέρματα συνειλεγμένους οὐδὲν οἶομαί σοι τὸν καιρὸν ἐνοχλήσειν, ἐν βραχέσι πολλῶν ἀναθεώρησιν ἀνδρῶν ἀξίων μνήμης γενομένων λαμβάνοντι.

[1] *πρόσφορον . . . τι*] *ὅρον . . . τινὰ* in nearly all MSS. Apparently the first part of *πρόσφορον* was omitted early, and *τι* was changed to correspond.

[2] *ἦ* omitted in most MSS. which add *δὲ* after *Σειράμνης*.

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[a] Diodorus Siculus, xv. 41, represents this remark as made

be good enough to accept, in conjunction with the author's ready goodwill, the utility which may be found in these brief notes, if so be that they contain something meet for the true understanding of the characters and predilections of men in high places, which are better reflected in their words than in their actions. True it is that a work of mine comprises the lives also of the most noted rulers, lawgivers, and monarchs among the Romans and the Greeks ; but their actions, for the most part, have an admixture of chance, whereas their pronouncements and unpremeditated utterance in connexion with what they did or experienced or chanced upon afford an opportunity to observe, as in so many mirrors, the workings of the mind of each man. In keeping herewith is the remark of Seiramnes the Persian who, in answer to those who expressed surprise because, while his words showed sense, his actions were never crowned with success, said that he himself was master of his words, but chance, together with the King, was master of his actions.[a]

In the *Lives* the pronouncements of the men have the story of the men's actions adjoined in the same pages, and so must wait for the time when one has the desire to read in a leisurely way ; but here the remarks, made into a separate collection quite by themselves, serving, so to speak, as samples and primal elements of the men's lives, will not, I think, be any serious tax on your time, and you will get in brief compass an opportunity to pass in review many men who have proved themselves worthy of being remembered.

[a] by Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap, to Iphicrates, the Athenian general.

ΑΠΟΦΘΕΓΜΑΤΑ ΚΥΡΟΥ[1]

1. Πέρσαι τῶν γρυπῶν ἐρῶσι[2] διὰ τὸ Κῦρον ἀγαπηθέντα μάλιστα τῶν βασιλέων γεγονέναι γρυπὸν τὸ εἶδος.

2. Ἔλεγε δὲ Κῦρος ἑτέροις ἀναγκάζεσθαι τἀγαθὰ πορίζειν τοὺς αὑτοῖς μὴ θέλοντας· ἄρχειν δὲ μηδενὶ προσήκειν, ὃς οὐ κρείττων ἐστὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων.

F 3. Βουλομένους δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἀντὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν οὔσης ὀρεινῆς καὶ τραχείας πεδιάδα καὶ μαλακὴν χώραν λαβεῖν οὐκ εἴασεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τῶν φυτῶν τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ βίοι ταῖς χώραις συνεξομοιοῦνται.

ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

1. Δαρεῖος ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων ἔλεγεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ γίγνεσθαι φρονιμώτερος.

2. Τοὺς δὲ φόρους τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τάξας μετεπέμψατο τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν φόρων ἠρώτησε, μὴ βαρεῖς εἰσι· φησάντων δὲ μετρίως ἔχειν ἐκέλευσε τελεῖν τοὺς ἡμίσεις
173 ἕκαστον.

[1] These headings are regularly omitted in the MSS.

[2] ἐρῶσι] ἐρῶσι καὶ καλλίστους ὑπολαμβάνουσι in many MSS.

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[a] The elder Cyrus (†529 B.C.), founder of the Persian empire.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 821 E.

[c] *Cf.* Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, i. 6. 8, and vii. 5. 83. The sentiment is not novel, and may be found in other writers.

[d] Plutarch probably took this from Herodotus, ix. 122, who in turn may have drawn upon Hippocrates; *cf. Airs, Waters, and Places*, chap. xxiv. (Hippocrates in L.C.L.;

CYRUS[a]

1. The Persians are enamoured of hook-nosed persons, because of the fact that Cyrus, the best loved of their kings, had a nose of that shape.[b]

2. Cyrus said that those who are unwilling to procure good things for themselves must of necessity procure them for others. He also said that no man has any right to rule who is not better than the people over whom he rules.[c]

3. When the Persians wished to acquire a level and tractable land in place of their own, which was mountainous and rugged, Cyrus would not allow them to do so, saying that both the seeds of plants and the lives of men are bound to be like the land of their origin.[d]

DARIUS[e]

1. Darius, the father of Xerxes, said in praise of himself that in battles and in the face of formidable dangers he became more cool and collected.[f]

2. After fixing the amount of the taxes which his subjects were to pay, he sent for the leading men of the provinces, and asked them if the taxes were not perhaps heavy; and when the men said that the taxes were moderate, he ordered that each should pay only half as much.[g]

pp. 132–136). *Cf.* also Plato, *Laws*, p. 695 A; Livy, xxix. 25. The idea is not novel, and may be found in other writers. It was again repeated in 1926 by Calvin Coolidge in regard to the rugged hills of Vermont.

[e] Darius I., king of Persia 521–485 B.C.

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 792 C.

[g] The same story with variations may be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 11. 3. Nothing to this effect is to be found in Herodotus's account of Darius's taxation, iii. 86-95.

(173) 3. Ῥοιὰν δὲ μεγάλην ἀνοίξας, πυθομένου τινὸς τί ἂν ἔχειν βούλοιτο τοσοῦτον ὅσον ἐστὶ τῶν κόκκων τὸ πλῆθος, εἶπε, "Ζωπύρους"· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ φίλος ὁ Ζώπυρος.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν αἰκισάμενος ὁ Ζώπυρος καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα περικόψας ἐξηπάτησε Βαβυλωνίους καὶ πιστευθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Δαρείῳ τὴν πόλιν, πολλάκις ὁ Δαρεῖος εἶπεν οὐκ ἂν ἐθελῆσαι λαβεῖν ἑκατὸν Βαβυλῶνας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ Ζώπυρον ἔχειν ὁλόκληρον.

ΣΕΜΙΡΑΜΙΔΟΣ

Σεμίραμις δὲ ἑαυτῇ κατασκευάσασα τάφον ἐπ-
B έγραψεν, "ὅστις ἂν χρημάτων δεηθῇ βασιλεύς, διελόντα τὸ μνημεῖον ὅσα βούλεται λαβεῖν." Δαρεῖος οὖν διελὼν χρήματα μὲν οὐχ εὗρε, γράμμασι δὲ ἑτέροις ἐνέτυχε τάδε φράζουσιν, "εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἦσθ'[1] ἀνὴρ καὶ χρημάτων ἄπληστος, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἐκίνεις."

ΞΕΡΞΟΥ

1. Ξέρξῃ τῷ Δαρείου περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀμφισβητῶν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀριαμένης κατέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς· ἔπεμψεν οὖν αὐτῷ δῶρα, φράσαι κελεύσας τοὺς διδόντας, "τούτοις σε τιμᾷ νῦν
C Ξέρξης ὁ ἀδελφός· ἐὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθῇ,

[1] ἦσθ'] ἦς Stobaeus, *Flor.* x. 53.

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[a] The same story is found in Herodotus, iv. 143, but with the name of Megabazus instead of Zopyrus.

[b] Herodotus, iii. 154-160; *cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 13.

[c] Herodotus, i. 187, says that Nitocris built the tomb

3. As Darius was opening a big pomegranate, someone inquired what there was of which he would like to have as many in number as the multitude of seeds in the pomegranate, and he replied, "Men like Zopyrus."[a] Zopyrus was a brave man and a friend of his.

4. Zopyrus, by disfiguring himself with his own hands and cutting off his nose and ears, tricked the Babylonians, and by winning their confidence succeeded in handing over the city to Darius. Many a time Darius said that he would not take an hundred Babylons as the price of not having Zopyrus unscathed.[b]

SEMIRAMIS

Semiramis[c] caused a great tomb to be prepared for herself, and on it this inscription : " Whatsoever king finds himself in need of money may break into this monument and take as much as he wishes." Darius accordingly broke into it, but found no money ; he did, however, come upon another inscription reading as follows : " If you were not a wicked man with an insatiate greed for money, you would not be disturbing the places where the dead are laid."

XERXES[d]

1. Ariamenes, the brother of Xerxes son of Darius, was on his way down from the Bactrian country to contest Xerxes' right to the kingdom. Xerxes accordingly sent him gifts, bidding those who offered them to say, " With these gifts Xerxes your brother now honours you ; and if he be proclaimed king, you

above the gates of Babylon. Stobaeus, x. 53, copies Plutarch word for word.

[d] King of Persia, 485–465 B.C.

(173) πάντων ἔσῃ παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστος." ἀποδειχθέντος δὲ τοῦ Ξέρξου βασιλέως, ὁ μὲν Ἀριαμένης εὐθὺς προσεκύνησε καὶ τὸ διάδημα περιέθηκεν, ὁ δὲ Ξέρξης ἐκείνῳ τὴν δευτέραν μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκε τάξιν.

2. Ὀργισθεὶς δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις ἀποστᾶσι καὶ κρατήσας προσέταξεν ὅπλα μὴ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ ψάλλειν καὶ αὐλεῖν καὶ πορνοβοσκεῖν καὶ καπηλεύειν καὶ φορεῖν κολπωτοὺς χιτῶνας.

3. Ἀττικὰς δὲ ἰσχάδας οὐκ ἂν ἔφη φαγεῖν ὠνίους κομισθείσας, ἀλλ' ὅταν τὴν φέρουσαν κτήσηται χώραν.

4. Ἕλληνας δὲ κατασκόπους ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λαβὼν οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀδεῶς
D ἐπιδεῖν κελεύσας ἀφῆκεν.

ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΟΥ

1. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ Ξέρξου, ὁ μακρόχειρ προσαγορευθεὶς διὰ τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν χεῖρα μακροτέραν ἔχειν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ προσθεῖναι τοῦ ἀφελεῖν βασιλικώτερόν ἐστι.

2. Πρῶτος δὲ πρωτοβολεῖν ἐκέλευσε τῶν συγκυνηγετούντων τοὺς δυναμένους καὶ βουλομένους.

3. Πρῶτος δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσι τῶν ἡγεμονι-

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[a] Plutarch tells the story with more details in *Moralia*, 488 D-F. The tradition which Plutarch follows is quite different from that of Herodotus, vii. 1-4.

[b] The usual tradition is that Babylon revolted from Darius; Herodotus, iii. 150.

[c] Cyrus is said to have employed this device against the Lydians; Herodotus, i. 156; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 6. 4; Justin, *Hist. Philip*, i. 7. For two other instances *cf.* the scholia on Sophocles, *Oedipus Col.* 329, and Dionysius Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* vii. 9.

shall be the highest at his court." When Xerxes was designated as the king, Ariamenes at once paid homage to him, and placed the crown upon his brother's head, and Xerxes gave him a rank second only to himself.[a]

2. Angered at the Babylonians, who had revolted,[b] he overpowered them, and then ordained that henceforth they should not bear arms, but should play the lyre and flute, keep public prostitutes, engage in petty trade, and wear long flowing garments.[c]

3. He said he would not eat figs from Attica which had been imported for sale, but would eat them when he had obtained possession of the land that bore them.[d]

4. When he caught Greek spies in his camp, he did them no injury, but, after bidding them observe his army freely, let them go.[e]

ARTAXERXES[f]

1. Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, called 'Long-hand,' because of his having one hand longer than the other,[g] used to say that it is more kingly to give to one who has than to take away.

2. He was the first to issue an order that any of his companions in the hunt who could and would might throw their spears without waiting for him to throw first.[h]

3. He was the first to ordain this form of punishment for those of the ruling class who offended:

[a] *Cf.* Athenaeus, p. 652 B.
[b] The story is told in Herodotus, vii. 146-147.
[c] King of Persia, 465–425 B.C.
[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. i. (1011 E).
[e] Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, i. 4. 14) attributes this innovation to the elder Cyrus; but *cf.* Ctesias, *Persica*, frag. 40.

(173) κῶν τιμωρίαν ἔταξεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τὸ σῶμα μαστιγοῦν καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτίλλειν,[1] μαστιγοῦσθαι μὲν ἀποδυσαμένων τὰ ἱμάτια τίλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν τιάραν ἀποθεμένων.

E 4. Σατιβαρζάνην δὲ τὸν κατακοιμιστὴν αἰτούμενόν τι παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν μὴ δικαίων αἰσθόμενος ἐπὶ τρισμυρίοις δαρεικοῖς τοῦτο ποιοῦντα, προσέταξε τῷ ταμίᾳ τρισμυρίους δαρεικοὺς κομίσαι· καὶ διδοὺς[2] αὐτῷ, "λάβε," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σατιβαρζάνη· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ δοὺς οὐκ[3] ἔσομαι πενέστερος, ἐκεῖνα δὲ πράξας ἀδικώτερος."

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

Κῦρος ὁ νεώτερος τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ παρακαλῶν ἔλεγε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καρδίαν ἔχειν βαρυτέραν καὶ πλείονα πίνειν ἄκρατον αὐτοῦ καὶ φέρειν βέλτιον· ἐκεῖνον δὲ μόλις ἐν ταῖς θήραις
F ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων μένειν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δεινοῖς μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. παρεκάλει δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἄνδρας πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς ἵππους δώσειν, τοῖς δὲ ἵππους ἔχουσιν ἅρματα, τοῖς δὲ χωρία κεκτημένοις κώμας, τοὺς δὲ κώμας ἔχοντας πόλεων κυρίους ποιήσειν· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ χρυσίου οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ σταθμὸν ἔσεσθαι.

[1] ἀποτίλλειν F.C.B.: ἀποτίλλεσθαι. Some MSS. give a slightly abbreviated version, but the sense is quite clear, and is confirmed by *Moral.* 565 A.
[2] διδοὺς] διαδοὺς in most MSS.
[3] Hartman would omit οὐκ.

Instead of having their bodies scourged and the hair plucked from their heads, they took off their outer garments and these were scourged, and put off their head-dress and this was plucked.[a]

4. Satibarzanes, his chamberlain, made a dishonourable request of him, and it came to his knowledge that the man was doing this for thirty thousand pounds; whereupon he directed his treasurer to bring him thirty thousand pounds, and, as he gave the money to his chamberlain, he said, "Take this, Satibarzanes; for if I make you this gift I shall not be poorer, but if I do that deed I shall be more dishonourable!"

CYRUS THE YOUNGER[b]

Cyrus the younger, in urging the Spartans to ally themselves with him, said that he had a stouter heart than his brother, and that he could drink more strong wine than his brother could and carry it better; moreover, that at hunts his brother could hardly stay on his horse, and at a time of terror not even on his throne. Cyrus urged the Spartans to send him men, promising to give horses to the foot-soldiers, chariots to those who had horses, villages to those who owned farms, and to make those who had villages the masters of cities; and as for gold and silver there should be no counting, but weighing instead.[c]

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 35 E and 565 A, and Wyttenbach's note on the latter passage.

[b] † 401 B.C.

[c] The content of the passage agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. vi. (1013 F); but there he says, οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλὰ μέτρον, "not counting but measuring out."

ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΞΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΝΗΜΟΝΟΣ

1. Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τούτου μὲν ἀδελφὸς Μνήμων δὲ καλούμενος, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἑαυτὸν ἀνέδην παρεῖχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν γνησίαν ἐκέλευσε τῆς ἁρμαμάξης τὰς αὐλαίας περιελεῖν, ὅπως οἱ δεόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυγχάνωσι.

174 2. Πένητος δὲ ἀνθρώπου μῆλον ὑπερφυὲς μεγέθει προσενέγκαντος αὐτῷ δεξάμενος ἡδέως, "νὴ τὸν Μίθραν," εἶπεν, "οὗτός μοι δοκεῖ καὶ πόλιν ἂν ἐκ μικρᾶς μεγάλην πιστευθεὶς ἀπεργάσασθαι."

3. Ἐν δὲ φυγῇ τινι τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτοῦ διαρπαγείσης, ξηρὰ σῦκα φαγὼν καὶ κρίθινον ἄρτον, "οἵας," εἶπεν, "ἡδονῆς ἄπειρος ἦμην."

ΠΑΡΥΣΑΤΙΔΟΣ

Παρύσατις ἡ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου μήτηρ ἐκέλευε τὸν βασιλεῖ μέλλοντα μετὰ παρρησίας διαλέγεσθαι βυσσίνοις χρῆσθαι ῥήμασι.

B ΟΡΟΝΤΟΥ

Ὀρόντης, ὁ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου γαμβρός, ἀτιμίᾳ περιπεσὼν διὰ κατηγορίαν[1] καὶ καταγνωσθεὶς ἔφη, "καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν δάκτυλοι νῦν μὲν μυριάδας νῦν δὲ μονάδας τιθέναι[2] δύνανται, τὸ

[1] διὰ κατηγορίαν F.C.B. from Diodorus, xv. 10: δι' ὀργὴν.
[2] τιθέναι] Cobet would omit.

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[a] King of Persia, 404–359 B.C.
[b] Because of his good memory.
[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes*, chap. v. (1013 D-E).

ARTAXERXES MNEMON[a]

1. Artaxerxes, Cyrus's brother, called Mnemon,[b] not only granted audience freely to those who wished to speak with him, but also bade his wife draw aside the curtains from her carriage so that those who desired might speak with her on the road.[c]

2. A poor man brought to him an apple of extraordinary size which he accepted with pleasure, and at the same time he remarked, "By Mithras I swear it seems to me that this man would make a big city out of a small one if it were entrusted to his charge."[d]

3. Once in a precipitate retreat his baggage was plundered, and as he ate dry figs and barley-bread he exclaimed, "What a pleasure is this which has never been mine before!"[e]

PARYSATIS

Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, advised that he who was intending to talk frankly with the king should use words of softest texture.

ORONTES

Orontes, the son-in-law of King Artaxerxes, became involved in disgrace because of an accusation,[f] and, when the decision was given against him, he said that, as mathematicians' fingers are able to represent tens of thousands at one time, and at another

[a] *Ibid.* chap. iv. (1013 B).

[c] *Ibid.* chap. xii. (1017 B) is a similar story regarding stale water.

[f] Against Tiribazus according to Diodorus, xv. 10-11, where the story is told at length.

(174) *αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων φίλους, νῦν μὲν τὸ πᾶν δύνασθαι νῦν δὲ τοὐλάχιστον.*"

ΜΕΜΝΟΝΟΣ

Μέμνων, ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολεμῶν ὑπὲρ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως, μισθοφόρον τινὰ πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου λέγοντα τῇ λόγχῃ
C *πατάξας, "ἐγώ σε," εἶπε, "τρέφω μαχούμενον, ἀλλ' οὐ λοιδορησόμενον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ."*

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΘΟΣ

Οἱ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς κατὰ νόμον ἑαυτῶν τοὺς δικαστὰς ἐξώρκιζον ὅτι κἂν βασιλεύς τι προστάξῃ κρῖναι τῶν μὴ δικαίων, οὐ κρινοῦσι.

ΠΟΛΤΥΟΣ

Πόλτυς ὁ Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πολέμῳ πρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅμα τῶν Τρώων καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀποδόντα τὴν Ἑλένην δύο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καλὰς γυναῖκας.
D

ΤΗΡΟΥ

Τήρης ὁ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ ἔλεγεν ὁπότε σχολάζοι καὶ μὴ στρατεύοιτο, τῶν ἱπποκόμων οἴεσθαι μηδὲν διαφέρειν.

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[a] *Cf.* Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, ii. p. 1068.
[b] A similar remark is attributed to Solon by Diogenes Laertius, i. 59.
[c] *Circa* 333 B.C.
[d] *Cf.* Diodorus, i. 71.

time only units,[a] so it was the same with the friends of kings: at one time they are omnipotent and at another time almost impotent.[b]

MEMNON

Memnon, who was waging war against Alexander on the side of King Darius,[c] when one of his mercenary soldiers said many libellous and indecent things of Alexander, struck the man with his spear, saying, "I pay you to fight Alexander, not to malign him."

A CUSTOM OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT

The kings of the Egyptians, in accordance with a rule of their own, used to require their judges to swear that, even if the king should direct them to decide any case unfairly, they would not do so.[d]

POLTYS

Poltys, king of the Thracians at the time of the Trojan war, when once both the Trojans and the Greeks sent deputations to him at the same time, bade Alexander restore Helen and accept a couple of beautiful women from him.

TERES[e]

Teres, the father of Sitalces, used to say that whenever he had nothing to do and was not in the field with his army he felt that there was no difference between himself and his grooms.[f]

[e] King of the Odrysae in Thrace in the earlier part of the fifth century B.C.

[f] In *Moralia*, 792 c, this remark is attributed to Ateas, king of the Scythians.

(174) ΚΟΤΤΟΣ

Κότυς τῷ δωρησαμένῳ πάρδαλιν ἀντεδωρήσατο λέοντα. φύσει δὲ ὢν ὀξὺς εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ πικρὸς τῶν ἁμαρτανόντων ἐν ταῖς διακονίαις κολαστής, σκεύη ποτὲ κεραμεᾶ ξένου κομίσαντος εὔθραυστα καὶ λεπτά, πιθανῶς δὲ καὶ περιττῶς εἰργασμένα γλυφαῖς τισι καὶ τορείαις, τῷ μὲν ξένῳ ἔδωκε δῶρα, τὰ δὲ σκεύη πάντα συνέτριψεν, "ὅπως," E εἶπε, "μὴ δι' ὀργὴν πικρότερον κολάζω τοὺς συντρίβοντας."

ΙΔΑΝΘΥΡΣΟΥ

Ἰδάνθυρσος[1] ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεύς, ἐφ' ὃν διέβη Δαρεῖος, ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἰώνων τυράννους τὸ τοῦ Ἴστρου ζεῦγμα λύσαντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· μὴ βουληθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δαρεῖον πίστιν, ἀνδράποδα χρηστὰ καὶ ἄδραστα ἐκάλει.

ΑΤΕΟΥ

Ἀτέας ἔγραφε πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, "σὺ μὲν ἄρχεις Μακεδόνων ἀνθρώποις μεμαθηκότων πολεμεῖν· F ἐγὼ δὲ Σκυθῶν, οἳ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ δίψει μάχεσθαι δύνανται."

Τοὺς δὲ πρέσβεις τοῦ Φιλίππου ψήχων τὸν ἵππον ἠρώτησεν, "εἰ τοῦτο ποιεῖ Φίλιππος."

Ἰσμηνίαν δὲ τὸν ἄριστον αὐλητὴν λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκέλευσεν αὐλῆσαι· θαυμαζόντων δὲ τῶν

[1] Ἰδάνθυρσος as in the MSS. of Herodotus: *ἰδάθυρσος*.

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[a] King of Thrace, 382–358 B.C.
[b] *Cf.* Herodotus, iv. 142.

COTYS[a]

Cotys was once presented with a leopard, and he presented the donor with a lion in return. He was by nature very irascible and prone to punish severely any lapses in service. On a time when a friend from abroad brought him some vessels of earthenware, very fragile and delicate, wrought with figures in relief in a realistic and highly artistic manner, he gave presents to the friend, but broke all the vessels in pieces, "so that I," as he said, "may not in anger punish too severely those that break them."

IDANTHYRSUS

Idanthyrsus, the king of the Scythians, against whom Darius crossed the Danube, tried to persuade the despots of the Ionians to break up the bridge that spanned the river, and then withdraw. But when they were not willing to do so because of their plighted word to Darius, he called them good slaves who would never run away.[b]

ATEAS

Ateas wrote to Philip: "You are the ruler of the Macedonians who have learned to fight against men; but I am ruler of the Scythians who are able to fight against both hunger and thirst."

While he was engaged in currying his horse he asked the ambassadors who had come from Philip whether Philip did this.

Having captured in battle Ismenias, the very best of flute-players, he bade him play a tune. Everybody else was filled with admiration, but Ateas swore

ἄλλων, αὐτὸς ὤμοσεν ἥδιον ἀκούειν τοῦ ἵππου χρεμετίζοντος.

ΣΚΙΛΟΥΡΟΥ

Σκίλουρος ὀγδοήκοντα[1] παῖδας ἄρρενας ἀπολιπών, ἐπεὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, δέσμην ἀκοντίων ἑκάστῳ προτείνων ἐκέλευε καταθραῦσαι· πάντων δὲ ἀπαγορευσάντων, καθ' ἓν αὐτὸς ἐξελὼν ἀκόντιον ἅπαντα ῥᾳδίως συνέκλασε, διδάσκων ἐκείνους, ὅτι συνεστῶτες ἰσχυροὶ διαμενοῦσιν, ἀσθενεῖς δ' ἔσονται διαλυθέντες καὶ στασιάσαντες.

ΓΕΛΩΝΟΣ

175 1. Γέλων ὁ τύραννος, ὅτε Καρχηδονίους πρὸς Ἱμέρᾳ κατεπολέμησεν, εἰρήνην ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκασεν ἐγγράψαι ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ὅτι καὶ τὰ τέκνα παύσονται τῷ Κρόνῳ καταθύοντες.

2. Ἐξῆγε δὲ τοὺς Συρακουσίους πολλάκις ὡς ἐπὶ στρατείαν κατὰ[2] φυτείαν, ὅπως ἥ τε χώρα βελτίων γένηται γεωργουμένη καὶ μὴ χείρονες αὐτοὶ σχολάζοντες.

3. Αἰτῶν δὲ χρήματα τοὺς πολίτας, ἐπεὶ ἐθορύβησαν, αἰτεῖν εἶπεν ὡς ἀποδώσων, καὶ ἀπέδωκε μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

B 4. Ἐν δὲ συμποσίῳ λύρας περιφερομένης, ἁρμο-

[1] ὀγδοήκοντα] ὁ ὀγδοήκοντα van Herwerden.
[2] κατὰ F.C.B., *cf.* for example 337 D: καὶ.

[a] The story is repeated in nearly the same words in *Moralia*, 334 B and 1095 F. The fame of Ismenias is several times referred to by ancient writers. It may suffice to mention Plutarch, *Moralia*, 632 C.

that it gave him more pleasure to hear his horse neigh.[a]

SCILURUS[b]

Scilurus, who left eighty sons surviving him, when he was at the point of death handed a bundle of javelins to each son in turn and bade him break it. After they had all given up, he took out the javelins one by one and easily broke them all, thereby teaching the young men that, if they stood together, they would continue strong, but that they would be weak if they fell out and quarrelled.[c]

GELON[d]

1. Gelon, the despot, after vanquishing the Carthaginians off Himera, forced them, when he made peace with them, to include in the treaty an agreement to stop sacrificing their children to Cronus.[e]

2. He often led out the Syracusans to plant their fields, as if it had been for a campaign, so that the land should be improved by being worked, and the men should not deteriorate by being idle.

3. He asked for money from the citizens, and, when they began to murmur, he said that he was asking for it with the intent to repay, and he did repay it when the war was over.

4. At a party a lyre was passed around, and the

[b] King of the Scythians, second or first century B.C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 511 C.

[d] Ruler of Gela, 491–483, and of Syracuse, 485–478 B.C.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 171 (and the note), and 552 A. According to Diodorus, xx. 14, the practice was revived in 310 B.C., even if it had not persisted during the intervening years. *Cf.* G. F. Moore in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, xvi. (1897), p. 161. Cronus is the Semitic El, Moloch, or Baal.

(175) ζομένων τῶν ἄλλων ἐφεξῆς καὶ ᾀδόντων, αὐτὸς τὸν ἵππον εἰσαγαγεῖν κελεύσας ἐλαφρῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ

1. Ἱέρων ὁ μετὰ Γέλωνα τύραννος ἔλεγε μηδένα τῶν παρρησιαζομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄκαιρον εἶναι.

2. Τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρρητον λόγον ἐκφέροντας ἀδικεῖν ᾤετο καὶ τοὺς πρὸς οὓς ἐκφέρουσι· μισοῦμεν γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐκφέροντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας ἃ μὴ βουλόμεθα.

3. Λοιδορηθεὶς δὲ ὑπό τινος εἰς τὴν δυσωδίαν τοῦ στόματος, ᾐτιᾶτο τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μηδέποτε
C περὶ τούτου φράσασαν· ἡ δὲ εἶπεν, "ὤμην γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄνδρας ὄζειν."

4. Πρὸς δὲ Ξενοφάνην τὸν Κολοφώνιον εἰπόντα μόλις οἰκέτας δύο τρέφειν, "ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος," εἶπεν, "ὃν σὺ διασύρεις, πλείονας ἢ μυρίους τρέφει τεθνηκώς."

5. Ἐπίχαρμον δὲ τὸν κωμῳδιοποιόν,[1] ὅτι τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ παρούσης εἶπέ τι τῶν ἀπρεπῶν, ἐζημίωσε.

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Διονύσιος ὁ πρεσβύτερος, κληρουμένων κατὰ
D γράμμα τῶν δημηγορούντων, ὡς ἔλαχε τὸ Μ, πρὸς

[1] *κωμῳδιοποιόν* (the preferred form) Bernardakis: *κωμῳδοποιόν*.

[a] *Cf.* Themistocles' boast, to which he resorted in self-defence under similarly embarrassing circumstances, in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii. (112 c).

others, one after the other, tuned it and sang, but the king ordered his horse to be led in, and nimbly and easily leapt upon its back.[a]

HIERO[b]

1. Hiero, who succeeded Gelo as despot, used to say that not one of the persons who spoke frankly to him chose the wrong time.

2. He felt that those who divulged a secret committed a serious offence also against those to whom they divulged it; for we hate, not only those who divulge such things, but also those who hear what we do not wish them to hear.

3. On being reviled by someone for his offensive breath, he blamed his wife for never having told him about this; but she said, "I supposed that all men smelled so."[c]

4. In answer to Xenophanes of Colophon, who had said that he could hardly maintain two servants, Hiero said, "But Homer, whom you disparage, maintains more than ten thousand, although he is dead."

5. He caused Epicharmus the comic poet to be punished because he made an indecent remark in the presence of his wife.

DIONYSIUS THE ELDER[d]

1. Dionysius the Elder, when the speakers who were to address the people were drawing by lot the letters of the alphabet to determine their order of speaking, drew the letter M; and in answer to the man who

[b] Ruler of Gela and Syracuse, 478–467 B.C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 90 B, and Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 34. Aristotle tells the same story of Gelon according to Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, v. 83.

[d] Ruler of Syracuse, 405–367 B.C.

(175) τὸν εἰπόντα, "μωρολογεῖς,[1] Διονύσιε". "μοναρχήσω μὲν οὖν," εἶπε, καὶ δημηγορήσας εὐθὺς ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακουσίων.

2. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπολιορκεῖτο, συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτῶν, οἱ μὲν φίλοι συνεβούλευον ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ μὴ βούλεται κρατηθεὶς ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ βοῦν ἰδὼν σφαττόμενον ὑπὸ μαγείρου καὶ πίπτοντα ταχέως, "εἶτα οὐκ ἀηδές[2] ἐστιν," εἶπεν, "οὕτω βραχὺν ὄντα τὸν θάνατον φοβηθέντας ἡμᾶς ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τηλικαύτην;"

3. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αἰσθόμενος, ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπο-
E λιπεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἀνδρὸς ἐλευθέρου διαφθείραντα γύναιον, ἠρώτησε μετ' ὀργῆς, τί τοιοῦτον αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου, "σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἶχες πατέρα τύραννον," "οὐδὲ σύ," εἶπεν, "υἱὸν ἔξεις, ἐὰν μὴ παύσῃ ταῦτα ποιῶν."

4. Πάλιν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος ἐκπωμάτων χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν πλῆθος ἀνεβόησεν, "οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν σοὶ τύραννος, ὃς ἀφ' ὧν λαμβάνεις ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ποτηρίων τοσούτων φίλον οὐδένα σεαυτῷ πεποίηκας."

5. Χρήματα δὲ εἰσπράττων τοὺς Συρακουσίους, εἶτα ὁρῶν ὀδυρομένους καὶ δεομένους καὶ λέγοντας
F ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἕτερα πράττειν, καὶ δὶς ἢ τρὶς τοῦτο ἐποίησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προστάξας πλείονα γελᾶν ἤκουσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ σκώπτειν ἐν ἀγορᾷ

[1] μωρολογεῖς] μωρολογήσεις Kronenberg.
[2] ἀηδές] εὐηθές Wyttenbach: ἀειδές Parmentier.

[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, xiii. 91-92.
[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 783 c-D; Diodorus, xiv. 8; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iv. 8; Polyaenus, v. 7.

said, "Muddle-head you are, Dionysius," he replied, "No! Monarch I am to be," and after he had addressed the people he was at once chosen general by the Syracusans.[a]

2. When, at the beginning of his rule, he was being besieged as the result of a conspiracy against him among the citizens, his friends advised him to abdicate unless he wished to be overpowered and put to death. But, on seeing that an ox slaughtered by a cook fell instantly, he said, "Is it not then distasteful that we, for fear of death which is so momentary, should forsake such a mighty sovereignty?" [b]

3. Learning that his son, to whom he was intending to bequeath his empire, had debauched the wife of a free citizen, he asked the young man, with some heat, what act of his father's he knew of like that! And when the youth answered, "None, for you did not have a despot for a father." "Nor will you have a son," was the reply, "unless you stop doing this sort of thing."

4. At another time he went into his son's house, and, observing a vast number of gold and silver drinking-cups, he exclaimed, "There is no despot in you, for with all the drinking-cups which you are always getting from me you have not made for yourself a single friend."

5. He levied money on the Syracusans, and later, when he saw them lamenting and begging and protesting that they had none, he ordered a second levy, and this he did twice or thrice.[c] But when, after calling for still more, he heard that they laughed and jeered as they went about in the market-place, he

[c] *Cf.* Aristotle, *Politics*, v. ii., and the Aristotelian *Oeconomica*, ii. 20, and Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, v. 19.

περιιόντας, ἐκέλευσε παύσασθαι· "νῦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν," εἶπεν, "ὅτε καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν."

6. Τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ παρήλικος μὲν οὔσης δοθῆναι δὲ ἀνδρὶ βουλομένης, ἔφη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως βιάσασθαι νόμους δύνασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῆς φύσεως μὴ δύνασθαι.

7. Πικρῶς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους κακούργους κολάζων, ἐφείδετο τῶν λωποδυτῶν, ὅπως παύσωνται οἱ Συρακούσιοι τοῦ δειπνεῖν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι μετ' ἀλλήλων.

8. Ξένου δέ τινος ἰδίᾳ φράσειν φάσκοντος αὐτῷ καὶ διδάξειν ὅπως προειδήσει τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας,
176 ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσελθών, "δός," εἶπε, "μοι τάλαντον, ἵνα δόξῃς ἀκηκοέναι τὰ σημεῖα τῶν ἐπιβουλευόντων," ἔδωκε προσποιούμενος ἀκηκοέναι καὶ θαυμάζων[1] τὴν μέθοδον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

9. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον εἰ σχολάζοι, "μηδέποτε," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ τοῦτο συμβαίη."

10. Δύο δὲ ἀκούσας νεανίσκους πολλὰ βλάσφημα περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος εἰρηκέναι παρὰ πότον, ἀμφοτέρους ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον· ὁρῶν δὲ τὸν μὲν παροινοῦντα καὶ ληροῦντα πολλά, τὸν δὲ σπανίως καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας ταῖς πόσεσι
B χρώμενον, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπέλυσεν ὡς φύσει παροινήσαντα καὶ διὰ μέθην κακολογήσαντα, τοῦτον δὲ ἀνεῖλεν ὡς δύσνουν καὶ πολέμιον ἐκ προαιρέσεως.

11. Αἰτιωμένων δέ τινων, ὅτι τιμᾷ καὶ προ-

[1] *θαυμάζων* Stobaeus, *Flor.* iii. 65: *θαυμάζειν.*

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, chap. xx. (89 D).
[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, v. 2. 3, and Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, iii. 65.
[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 792 C.

ordered a halt in the proceeding; "For now they really have nothing," said he, "since they hold us in contempt."

6. When his mother, who was well on in years, wanted to get married, he said that he had the power to violate the laws of the State, but not the laws of Nature.[a]

7. While he punished relentlessly all other malefactors, he was very lenient with the footpads, so that the Syracusans should stop their dining and drinking together.

8. A stranger professed that he would tell him privately and instruct him how to know beforehand those who were plotting against him, and Dionysius bade him speak; whereupon the stranger came close to him and said, "Hand me a talent that you may give the impression that you have heard about the plotters' secret signs;" and Dionysius gave it, pretending that he had heard, and marvelling at the man's clever tactics.[b]

9. To the man who inquired if he were at leisure he said, "I hope that may never happen to me!"[c]

10. Hearing that two young men at a drinking party had said much that was slanderous about him and his rule, he invited them both to dinner. And when he saw that the one drank much and talked freely, and the other indulged in drink sparingly and with great circumspection, he let the former go free, holding him to be by nature a hard drinker and a slanderous talker when in his cups, but the latter he caused to be put to death, holding that this man was disaffected and hostile as the result of deliberate choice.

11. When some blamed him for honouring and

(176) ἄγεται πονηρὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ δυσχεραινόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, "ἀλλὰ καὶ βούλομαι," εἶπεν, "εἶναι τὸν ἐμοῦ μᾶλλον μισούμενον."

12. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορινθίων πρέσβεις δῶρα διδόντος αὐτοῦ παρῃτοῦντο διὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς οὐκ εἴα δῶρα λαμβάνειν παρὰ δυνάστου πρεσβεύοντας, δεινόν ἔφη πρᾶγμα ποιεῖν αὐτούς, ὃ μόνον αἱ τυραννίδες ἀγαθὸν ἔχουσιν ἀναιροῦντας καὶ διδάσκοντας ὅτι καὶ τὸ εὖ παθεῖν ὑπὸ τυράννου φοβερόν ἐστιν.

13. Ἀκούσας δέ τινα τῶν πολιτῶν χρυσίον
C ἔχειν οἴκοι κατορωρυγμένον ἐκέλευσεν ἐνεγκεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρακλέψας ὀλίγον ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ μεταστὰς εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἐωνήσατο χωρίον, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε πᾶν ἀπολαβεῖν, ᾠργμένον χρῆσθαι τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ μηκέτι ποιοῦντα τὸ χρήσιμον ἄχρηστον.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Διονύσιος ἔλεγε πολλοὺς τρέφειν σοφιστάς, οὐ θαυμάζων ἐκείνους ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνων θαυμάζεσθαι βουλόμενος.

2. Πολυξένου δὲ τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ φήσαντος αὐ-
D τὸν ἐξελέγχειν, "ἀμέλει τοῖς λόγοις," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ δέ σε τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλέγχω· τὰ γὰρ σεαυτοῦ καταλιπὼν ἐμὲ καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ θεραπεύεις."

3. Ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς, πρὸς μὲν τὸν εἰπόντα, "τί σε Πλάτων καὶ φιλοσοφία ὠφέλησε;"

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[a] *Cf.* Diodorus, xv. 70.
[b] Ruler of Syracuse, 367–343 B.C.

advancing a bad man who was loathed by the citizens, he said, "But it is my wish that there shall be somebody more hated than myself."

12. When ambassadors from Corinth [a] declined his proffered gifts because of the law, which did not allow members of an embassy to receive gifts from a potentate, he said that they were playing a scurvy trick in taking away the only advantage possessed by despotism, and teaching that even a favour from a despot is a thing to be feared.

13. Hearing that one of the citizens had some gold buried at his house he ordered the man to bring it to him. But when the man succeeded in keeping back a part of it, and later removed to another city and bought a farm, Dionysius sent for him, and bade him take the whole amount belonging to him, since he had now begun to use his wealth, and was no longer making a useful thing useless.

DIONYSIUS THE YOUNGER [b]

1. The Younger Dionysius used to say that he gave bed and board to many learned men, not because he felt any admiration for them, but because he wished through them to gain admiration for himself.

2. When Polyxenus,[c] who was skilled in argumentation, asserted that he had confuted the king, the latter said, "Yes, very likely by your words, but by your deeds I confute you; for you forsake your own affairs, and pay court to me and mine."

3. He was compelled to abdicate, and when a man said to him, "What help have Plato and philosophy

[b] *Cf.* Plato's *Letters*, ii. p. 314 c.

(176) "τὸ τηλικαύτην," ἔφη, "τύχης μεταβολὴν ῥᾳδίως ὑπομένειν."

4. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ πένης ὢν καὶ ἰδιώτης ἐκτήσατο τὴν Συρακουσίων ἀρχήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔχων καὶ τυράννου παῖς ὢν πῶς ἀπέβαλεν· "ὁ μὲν πατήρ," ἔφη, "μισουμένης δημοκρατίας ἐνέπεσε[1] τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἐγὼ δὲ φθονουμένης τυραννίδος."

E 5. Ὑπὸ ἄλλου δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐρωτηθείς, "ὁ πατήρ," ἔφη, "μοι τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατέλιπεν, οὐ τὴν τύχην."

ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1. Ἀγαθοκλῆς υἱὸς ἦν κεραμέως· γενόμενος δὲ κύριος Σικελίας καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς εἰώθει κεραμεᾶ ποτήρια τιθέναι παρὰ τὰ χρυσᾶ, καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἐπιδεικνύμενος λέγειν ὅτι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν πρότερον νῦν τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν.

2. Πολιορκοῦντος δὲ πόλιν αὐτοῦ, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τινὲς ἐλοιδοροῦντο λέγοντες ὅτι, "ὦ F κεραμεῦ, τὸν μισθὸν πῶς ἀποδώσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις;" ὁ δὲ πρᾶος καὶ μειδιῶν εἶπεν, "αἴκα ταύταν ἕλω." λαβὼν δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐπίπρασκε τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἔλεγεν, "ἐάν με πάλιν λοιδορῆτε, πρὸς τοὺς κυρίους ὑμῶν ἔσται μοι ὁ λόγος."

[1] ἐνέπεσε] ἐπέστη some MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch, *Life of Timoleon*, chap. xv. (243 A).

[b] By Philip of Macedon, according to Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 60.

given to you ? " his answer was : " The power to submit to so great a change of fortune without repining." [a]

4. On being asked how his father, who was a poor man and a private citizen, had gained control over the Syracusans, and how he, who held control, and was the son of a despot, had come to lose it, he said, " My father embarked upon his venture at a time when democracy was hated, but I at a time when despotism was odious."

5. Being asked this same question by another man,[b] he said, "My father bequeathed to me his kingdom, but not his luck."

AGATHOCLES [c]

1. Agathocles was the son of a potter. After he had made himself master of Sicily, and had been proclaimed king, he used to have drinking-cups of pottery placed beside those of gold, and as he pointed these out to the young men he would say, " That is the sort of thing which I used to do formerly, but this is what I do now because of my diligence and fortitude." [d]

2. When he was besieging a city, some of the people on the wall reviled him, saying, " Potter, how are you going to pay your soldiers' wages ? " But he, unruffled and smiling, said, " If I take this town." And after he had taken it by storm he sold the captives as slaves, and said, " If you revile me again, what I have to say will be said to your masters." [e]

[c] Ruler of Syracuse and Sicily, 318–289 B.C.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 544 B, where the story is repeated in slightly different words.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 458 F, where, however, the last remark is attributed to Antigonus the " One-eyed."

3. Ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τοῖς ναύταις αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἰθακησίων, ὅτι τῇ νήσῳ προσβαλόντες τῶν θρεμμάτων τινὰ ἀπέσπασαν, "ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος," ἔφη, "βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐ μόνον τὰ πρόβατα λαβὼν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ποιμένα προσεκτυφλώσας ἀπῆλθε."

ΔΙΩΝΟΣ

Δίων ὁ Διονύσιον ἐκβαλὼν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος, ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ Κάλλιππον, ᾧ μάλιστα τῶν φίλων καὶ ξένων ἐπίστευεν, οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν
177 ἐλέγξαι βέλτιον εἶναι φήσας ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ζῆν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φίλους φυλαττόμενον.

ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ

1. Ἀρχέλαος αἰτηθεὶς παρὰ πότον ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ὑπό τινος τῶν συνήθων οὐ μὴν ἐπιεικῶν, ἐκέλευσεν Εὐριπίδῃ τὸν παῖδα δοῦναι· θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, "σὺ μὲν γάρ," εἶπεν, "αἰτεῖν, οὗτος δὲ λαμβάνειν ἄξιός ἐστι καὶ μὴ αἰτῶν."

2. Ἀδολέσχου δὲ κουρέως ἐρωτήσαντος αὐτόν, "πῶς σε κείρω;" "σιωπῶν," ἔφη.

3. Τοῦ δὲ Εὐριπίδου τὸν καλὸν Ἀγάθωνα περιλαμβάνοντος ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ καὶ καταφιλοῦντος

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[a] The Cyclops, Homer, *Od.* ix. 375.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 557 B, where the story is repeated in fewer words.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Dion*, chap. lvi. (982 D). The

3. When the people of Ithaca complained of his sailors because they had put in at the island and had forcibly carried off some of the animals, he said, " But your king came to us, and not only took our flocks, but also blinded their shepherd,[a] and went his way." [b]

DION

When Dion, who expelled Dionysius from his kingdom, heard that a plot against him was being set on foot by Callippus, in whom he placed the greatest trust above all other friends, both those at home and those from abroad, he could not bring himself to investigate, but said, " It is better to die than to live in a state of continual watchfulness not only against one's enemies but also against one's friends." [c]

ARCHELAUS [d]

1. When Archelaus, at a convivial gathering, was asked for a golden cup by one of his acquaintances of a type not commendable for character, he bade the servant give it to Euripides ; and in answer to the man's look of astonishment, he said, " It is true that you have a right to ask for it, but Euripides has a right to receive it even though he did not ask for it."

2. When a garrulous barber asked him, " How shall I cut your hair ? " he said, " In silence." [e]

3. When Euripides threw his arms around the fair Agathon in the midst of an evening party and kissed

story of the plot and the death of Dion is in chaps. liv.-lvii. *Cf.* also Valerius Maximus, iii. 8, Ext. 5.

[d] King of Macedonia, 413–399 B.C.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 509 A.

B (177) ἤδη γενειῶντα, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπε, "μὴ θαυμάσητε· τῶν γὰρ καλῶν καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον καλόν ἐστιν."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τιμόθεος ὁ κιθαρῳδὸς ἐλπίσας πλείονα, λαβὼν δὲ ἐλάττονα, δῆλος ἦν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτῷ, καί ποτε ἄδων τουτὶ τὸ κομμάτιον,

"σὺ δὲ τὸν γηγενέταν ἄργυρον αἰνεῖς,"

ἀπεσήμαινεν εἰς ἐκεῖνον· ὑπέκρουσεν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος αὐτῷ

"σὺ δέ γε αἰτεῖς."

5. Ὕδωρ δέ τινος αὐτοῦ κατασκεδάσαντος, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων παροξυνόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμοῦ," φησίν, "ἀλλ' ἐκείνου κατεσκέδασεν ὃν ἔδοξεν ἐμὲ εἶναι."

C ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ

1. Φίλιππον τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου πατέρα Θεόφραστος ἱστόρηκεν οὐ μόνον μέγαν[1] μεταξὺ τῶν βασιλέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ μείζονα γενέσθαι καὶ μετριώτερον.[2]

2. Ἀθηναίους μὲν οὖν μακαρίζειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν αἱρεῖσθαι δέκα στρατηγοὺς εὑρίσκουσιν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἕνα μόνον στρατηγὸν εὑρηκέναι, Παρμενίωνα.

3. Πολλῶν δὲ κατορθωμάτων αὐτῷ καὶ καλῶν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ προσαγγελθέντων, "ὦ τύχη," εἶπε,

[1] *μέγαν* added by F.C.B.

[2] *ἱστόρηκε τῶν μεταξὺ βασιλέων οὐ μόνον τῇ τύχῃ μείζονα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ γενέσθαι μετριώτερον* Wyttenbach.

• *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. i. (192 A);

him, for all that Agathon was already bearded, Archelaus said to his friends, " Do not be astonished ; for even the autumn of the fair is fair."[a]

4. When Timotheus the harp-player had hopes of receiving a goodly sum, but received less, he plainly showed that he felt resentful towards Archelaus ; and, once, as he was singing this brief line :

"Over the earth-born silver you rave."[b]

he directed it towards Archelaus ; whereupon Archelaus retorted upon him with this,

"That, however, is what you crave."

5. When somebody had thrown water upon him, and he was incited by his friends against the man, he said, " But it was not upon me that he threw it, but upon the man he thought me to be."

PHILIP THE FATHER OF ALEXANDER[c]

1. Theophrastus has recorded that Philip, the father of Alexander, was not only great among kings, but, owing to his fortune and his conduct, proved himself still greater and more moderate.[d]

2. He said that he must congratulate the Athenians on their happy fortune if they could find ten men every year to elect as generals ; for he himself in many years had found only one general, Parmenio.

3. When several happy events were reported to him within a single day, he said, " O Fortune, do

Moralia, 770 c ; and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 4. In all three places the remark is attributed to Euripides.

[b] *Cf.* Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii. p. 624, Timotheus, No. 14, or Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* (in L.C.L.), iii. p. 330, No. 28. Plutarch repeats the story in *Moralia*, 334 B.

[c] Born 382 B.C. ; king of Macedonia, 359–336 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Cicero, *De Officiis*, i. 26 (90).

(177) "μικρόν τι μοι κακὸν ἀντὶ τῶν τοσούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ποίησον."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νικήσαντι τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτῷ συν-
D εβούλευον ἔνιοι φρουραῖς τὰς πόλεις κατέχειν, ἔφη μᾶλλον πολὺν χρόνον ἐθέλειν χρηστὸς ἢ δεσπότης ὀλίγον καλεῖσθαι.

5. Τὸν δὲ λοίδορον ἐξελάσαι τῶν φίλων κελευόντων, οὐκ ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἵνα μὴ περιιὼν ἐν πλείοσι κακῶς λέγῃ.

6. Σμικύθου δὲ Νικάνορα διαβάλλοντος ὡς ἀεὶ κακῶς λέγοντα τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἰομένων δεῖν μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ κολάζειν, "ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, "Νικάνωρ οὐ φαυλότατός ἐστι Μακεδόνων· ἐπισκεπτέον οὖν, μή τι γίνεται παρ' ἡμᾶς.[1]" ὡς οὖν ἔγνω τὸν Νικάνορα θλιβόμενον ἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ πενίας ἠμελημένον δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προσέταξε δωρεάν τινα αὐτῷ δοθῆναι. πάλιν οὖν τοῦ Σμι-
E κύθου λέγοντος ὅτι θαυμαστὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἐγκώμια λέγων ὁ Νικάνωρ διατελεῖ, "ὁρᾶτε οὖν," εἶπεν, "ὅτι παρ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς[2] ἐστι καὶ τὸ καλῶς καὶ τὸ κακῶς ἀκούειν."

7. Τοῖς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δημαγωγοῖς ἔφη χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι λοιδοροῦντες αὐτὸν βελτίονα ποιοῦσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ ἤθει· "πειρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ψευδομένους ἐλέγχειν."

8. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὅσοι περὶ Χαιρώνειαν

[1] παρ' ἡμᾶς] παρ' ἡμῖν E, perhaps rightly.
[2] παρ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς] πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν E, perhaps rightly.

[a] Repeated in *Moralia*, 105 A and 666 A.
[b] A similar story is told of Pyrrhus in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. (387 E).

me some little ill to offset so many good things like these!" [a]

4. After his victory over the Greeks, when some were advising him to hold the Greek cities in subjection by means of garrisons, he said that he preferred to be called a good man for a long time rather than a master for a short time.

5. When his friends advised him to banish from his court a man who maligned him, he said he would not, so that the man should not go about speaking ill of him among more people.[b]

6. When Smicythus remarked maliciously of Nicanor that he was always speaking ill of Philip, and Philip's companions thought that he ought to send for Nicanor and punish him, Philip said, "But really Nicanor is not the worst of the Macedonians. We must investigate therefore whether something is not happening for which we are responsible." When he learned therefore that Nicanor was hard pressed by poverty, and had been neglected by him, he directed that a present be given to the man. So when again Smicythus said that Nicanor was continually sounding the praises of Philip to everybody in a surprising way, Philip said, "You all see that we ourselves are responsible for the good and the ill that is said of us." [c]

7. He said that he felt very grateful to the popular leaders of the Athenians, because by maligning him they made him better both in speech and in character, "For I try both by my words and by my deeds to prove that they are liars."

8. When all the Athenians who had been taken

[c] *Cf.* Themistius, *Oration* vii. 95 B, and Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 7. 37.

ἑάλωσαν, ἀφεθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δίχα λύτρων, τὰ δὲ
ἱμάτια καὶ στρώματα προσαπαιτούντων καὶ τοῖς
F Μακεδόσιν ἐγκαλούντων, γελάσας ὁ Φίλιππος
εἶπεν, "οὐ δοκοῦσιν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζειν ἐν
ἀστραγάλοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν νενικῆσθαι;"

9. Τῆς δὲ κλειδὸς αὐτῷ καταγείσης ἐν πολέμῳ
καὶ τοῦ θεραπεύοντος ἰατροῦ πάντως τι καθ'
ἡμέραν αἰτοῦντος, "λάμβανε," ἔφη, "ὅσα βούλει·
τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν ἔχεις."

10. Δυοῖν δὲ ἀδελφῶν Ἀμφοτεροῦ καὶ Ἑκατεροῦ, τὸν μὲν Ἑκατερὸν ἔμφρονα καὶ πρακτικὸν
ὁρῶν, τὸν δὲ Ἀμφοτερὸν εὐήθη καὶ ἀβέλτερον ἔφη
"τὸν μὲν Ἑκατερὸν ἀμφότερον εἶναι, τὸν δὲ
Ἀμφοτερὸν οὐδέτερον."

178 11. Τοὺς δὲ συμβουλεύοντας αὐτῷ πικρῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀτόπους ἔλεγεν εἶναι κελεύοντας ἄνθρωπον ὑπὲρ δόξης πάντα ποιοῦντα καὶ
πάσχοντα ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ τῆς δόξης θέατρον.

12. Γενόμενος δὲ κριτὴς δυοῖν πονηρῶν ἐκέλευσε τὸν μὲν φεύγειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας τὸν δὲ ἕτερον
διώκειν.

13. Μέλλων δὲ καταστρατοπεδεύειν ἐν χωρίῳ
καλῷ καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι χόρτος οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις, "οἷος," εἶπεν, "ὁ βίος ἡμῶν ἐστιν, εἰ
καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄνων καιρὸν ὀφείλομεν ζῆν;"

14. Φρούριον δέ τι βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ὀχυρόν,
B ὡς ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ κατάσκοποι χαλεπὸν εἶναι
παντάπασι καὶ ἀνάλωτον, ἠρώτησεν εἰ χαλεπὸν

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[a] *Cf.* Polybius, v. 10, and Diodorus, xvi. 87.

[b] *Cf.* Demosthenes, *Oration* xviii. (*De Corona*), 67 (p. 247), and Aulus Gellius, ii. 27.

captive at Chaeroneia were set free by him without ransom,[a] but asked for the return of their clothing and bedding besides, and complained against the Macedonians, Philip laughed and said to his men, "Does it not seem to you that the Athenians think they have been beaten by us in a game of knuckle-bones?"

9. When the keybone of his shoulder had been broken in battle,[b] and the attending physician insistently demanded a fee every day, he said, "Take as much as you wish; for you have the key in your charge!"[c]

10. Of two brothers, Both and Each, he observed that Each was sensible and practical, and Both was silly and foolish, and he remarked that Each was both and Both was neither!

11. Those who counselled him to treat the Athenians harshly he said were silly in urging a man who did everything and underwent everything for the sake of repute to throw away his chance to exhibit it.

12. Being called upon to decide a suit between two knaves, he ordered the one to flee from Macedonia, and the other to pursue him.

13. When he was about to pitch his camp in an excellent place, he learned that there was no grass for the pack-animals. "What a life is ours," he said, "if we must live to suit the convenience of the asses!"[d]

14. When he was desirous of capturing a certain stronghold, his scouts reported that it was altogether difficult and quite impregnable, whereupon he asked

[c] The pun depends on the fact that κλείς means both "key" and "collar-bone."

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 790 B; also Eunapius, Frag. 56 in Dindorf, *Historici Graeci Minores*, i. p. 249.

(178) οὕτως ἐστίν, ὥστε μηδὲ ὄνον προσελθεῖν χρυσίον κομίζοντα.

15. Τῶν δὲ περὶ Λασθένην τὸν Ὀλύνθιον ἐγκαλούντων καὶ ἀγανακτούντων, ὅτι προδότας αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι τῶν περὶ τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλοῦσι, σκαιοὺς ἔφη φύσει καὶ ἀγροίκους εἶναι Μακεδόνας καὶ τὴν σκάφην σκάφην λέγοντας.

16. Τῷ δὲ υἱῷ παρῄνει πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς Μακεδόσι, κτώμενον ἑαυτῷ τὴν παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν δύναμιν,[1] ἕως ἔξεστι βασιλεύοντος ἄλλου φιλάνθρωπον εἶναι.

C 17. Συνεβούλευε δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δυνατῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς φίλους κτᾶσθαι καὶ τοὺς πονηρούς, εἶτα οἷς μὲν χρῆσθαι οἷς δ' ἀποχρῆσθαι.

18. Πρὸς δὲ Φίλωνα τὸν Θηβαῖον εὐεργέτην αὐτοῦ γενόμενον καὶ ξένον, ὁπηνίκα διῆγεν ἐν Θήβαις ὁμηρεύων, ὕστερον δὲ μηδεμίαν παρ' αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν προσδεχόμενον, "μή με," εἶπεν, "ἀφαιροῦ τὸ ἀνίκητον, εὐεργεσίας καὶ χάριτος ἡττώμενον."

19. Ληφθέντων δὲ πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ἐπίπρασκεν αὐτοὺς ἀνεσταλμένῳ τῷ χιτῶνι καθήμενος οὐκ εὐπρεπῶς· εἶς οὖν τῶν πωλουμένων ἀνεβόησε, "φεῖσαί μου, Φίλιππε, πατρικὸς γάρ εἰμί σου φίλος"· ἐρωτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου, "πόθεν,
D ὦ ἄνθρωπε, γενόμενος καὶ πῶς;" "ἐγγύς," ἔφη, "φράσαι σοι βούλομαι προσελθών·" ὡς οὖν

[1] δύναμιν] εὐμένειαν or εὔνοιαν Wyttenbach.

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[a] *Cf.* Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, i. 16. 12; Diodorus, xvi. 54.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 97 D.

[c] A reference to a line from an unknown comic poet quoted by Lucian, *Iupiter Tragoedus*, 32. *Cf.* also Lucian,

if it were so difficult that not even an ass laden with money could approach it.[a]

15. When the men associated with Lasthenes, the Olynthian, complained with indignation because some of Philip's associates called them traitors,[b] he said that the Macedonians are by nature a rough and rustic people who call a spade a spade.[c]

16. He recommended to his son that he associate with the Macedonians so as to win their favour, and thus acquire for himself influence with the masses while another was reigning and while it was possible for him to be humane.[d]

17. He also advised him that, among the men of influence in the cities, he should make friends of both the good and the bad, and that later he should use the former and abuse the latter.

18. Philon[e] the Theban had been his benefactor and host during the time he spent as a hostage in Thebes, but later would not accept any gift from him; whereupon Philip said to him, "Do not deprive me of my invincibility by letting me be outdone in benefactions and favours."

19. On a time when many prisoners had been taken, Philip was overseeing their sale, sitting with his tunic pulled up in an unseemly way. So one of the men who were being sold cried out, "Spare me, Philip, for I am a friend of your father's." And when Philip asked, "Where, sirrah, and how came you to be such?" the man said, "I wish to tell you privately, if I may come near you." And when he

Historia quomodo conscribenda sit, 41, and Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 451, Adespota no. 227.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 806 B, Cicero, *De Officiis*, ii. 14 (48).

[e] Probably the man mentioned by Demosthenes, *Oration* xix. 140 (p. 384).

(178) προσήχθη, "μικρόν," ἔφη, "κατωτέρω τὴν χλαμύδα ποίησον, ἀσχημονεῖς γὰρ οὕτω καθήμενος·" καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, "ἄφετε αὐτόν," εἶπεν, "ἀληθῶς γὰρ εὔνους ὢν καὶ φίλος ἐλάνθανεν."

20. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπό τινος ξένου κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐν ὁδῷ[1] πολλοὺς ἐπήγετο καὶ τὸν ξένον ἑώρα θορυβούμενον, ἦν γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανὰ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα, προπέμπων τῶν φίλων ἑκάστω,
E πλακοῦντι χώραν ἐκέλευεν ἀπολείπειν· οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι καὶ προσδοκῶντες οὐκ ἤσθιον πολλά, καὶ πᾶσιν οὕτως ἤρκεσεν.

21. Ἱππάρχου τοῦ Εὐβοέως ἀποθανόντος, δῆλος ἦν βαρέως φέρων· εἰπόντος δέ τινος, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ὡραῖος ὢν ἐκεῖνος ἀποτέθνηκεν," "ἑαυτῷ γε," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ δὲ ταχέως· ἔφθη γὰρ τελευτῆσαι πρὶν ἢ παρ' ἐμοῦ χάριν ἀξίαν τῆς φιλίας ἀπολαβεῖν."

22. Πυθόμενος δ' ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅτι παῖδας ἐκ πλειόνων ποιεῖται γυναικῶν, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "πολλοὺς ἔχων περὶ τῆς βασιλείας
F ἀνταγωνιστὰς γενοῦ καλὸς κἀγαθός, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἐμὲ τῆς βασιλείας τύχῃς ἀλλὰ διὰ σεαυτόν." ἐκέλευε δ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλει προσέχειν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν, "ὅπως," ἔφη, "μὴ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα πράξῃς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐγὼ πεπραγμένοις μεταμέλομαι."

23. Τῶν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου φίλων τινὰ κατατάξας εἰς τοὺς δικαστάς, εἶτα τὸν πώγωνα βαπτόμενον

[1] ἐν ὁδῷ] ἐν ἀγρῷ (?), *cf.* ἐπὶ χώρας *Moralia*, 123 F and 707 B.

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[a] The story is repeated in *Moralia*, 123 F and 707 B.

[b] Hipparchus, with two others, was set up by Philip as tyrant in Eretria about 343 B.C. See Demosthenes, *Oration* ix. 58 (p. 125), and *Oration* xviii. 295 (p. 324).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. ix. (669 A).

was brought forward, he said, " Put your cloak a little lower, for you are exposing too much of yourself as you are sitting now." And Philip said, " Let him go free, for it had escaped me that he is a truly loyal friend."

20. Once when he was on the march, and was invited to dinner by a man of the land, he took a good many persons with him ; and when he saw that his host was much perturbed, since the preparations that had been made were inadequate, he sent word in advance to each of his friends, and told them to " leave room for cake." They took his advice and, expecting more to follow, did not eat much, and thus there was enough for all.[a]

21. When Hipparchus of Euboea died,[b] it was plain that Philip took it much to heart ; and when somebody remarked, " But, as a matter of fact, his death has come in fullness of time," Philip said, " Yes, in fullness of time for him, it is true, but swiftly for me, for he came to his end too soon to receive from me, as he ought, favours worthy of our friendship."

22. Learning that Alexander complained against him because he was having children by other women besides his wife, he said, " Well then, if you have many competitors for the kingdom, prove yourself honourable and good, so that you may obtain the kingdom not because of me, but because of yourself." He bade Alexander give heed to Aristotle, and study philosophy, " so that," as he said, " you may not do a great many things of the sort that I am sorry to have done."[c]

23. He appointed one of Antipater's friends to the position of judge, but later, on learning that the man dyed his beard and hair, he removed him, at the same

αἰσθανόμενος καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν, ἀνέστησεν εἰπὼν τὸν ἄπιστον ἐν θριξὶ μὴ νομίζειν ἀξιόπιστον ἐν πράγμασιν.

24. Μαχαίτᾳ δέ τινα κρίνων δίκην καὶ ὑπονυστάζων οὐ πάνυ προσεῖχε τοῖς δικαίοις ἀλλὰ κατέκρινεν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀναβοήσαντος ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, διοργισθείς "ἐπὶ τίνα;" εἶπε· καὶ ὁ Μαχαίτας, "ἐπὶ σέ, βασιλεῦ, αὐτόν, ἂν ἐγρηγορὼς
179 καὶ προσέχων ἀκούῃς." τότε μὲν οὖν ἀνέστη· γενόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ γνοὺς ἀδικούμενον τὸν Μαχαίταν τὴν μὲν κρίσιν οὐκ ἔλυσε, τὸ δὲ τίμημα τῆς δίκης αὐτὸς ἐξέτεισεν.

25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἅρπαλος ὑπὲρ συγγενοῦς καὶ οἰκείου Κράτητος ἀδικημάτων δίκην ἔχοντος ἠξίου τὴν ζημίαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀφεθῆναι δὲ τῆς κρίσεως, ἵνα μὴ λοιδορηθῇ, "βέλτιόν ἐστιν," εἶπε, "τοῦτον αὐτὸν[1] ἢ ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦτον κακῶς ἀκούειν."

26. Ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν φίλων, ὅτι συρίττουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίοις εὖ πεπονθότες οἱ
B Πελοποννήσιοι, "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐὰν κακῶς πάθωσι;"

27. Κοιμηθεὶς δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἐπὶ στρατείας εἶτα διαναστάς, "ἀσφαλῶς," εἶπεν, "ἐκάθευδον· Ἀντίπατρος γὰρ ἐγρηγόρει."

28. Πάλιν δὲ ἡμέρας καθεύδοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν

[1] αὐτὸν] δι' αὐτὸν Pantazides.

[a] The sentiment is attributed to Archidamus regarding a man from Chios, in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, vii. 20; *cf.* Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xii. 20.

[b] Of an old woman in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xiii. 29 (quoted from Serenus) and Valerius Maximus, vi. 2, ext. 1; in the latter place is the more familiar appeal from "Philip drunk to Philip sober."

time remarking that he did not believe that a man who was untrustworthy in the matter of hair was fit to be trusted in actions.[a]

24. While he was hearing the case of Machaetas, he was near falling asleep, and did not give full attention to the rights of the case, but decided against Machaetas. And when Machaetas exclaimed that he appealed from the decision, Philip, thoroughly enraged, said, "To whom?" And Machaetas replied, "To you yourself, Your Majesty, if you will listen awake and attentive." At the time Philip merely ended the sitting, but when he had gained more control of himself and realized that Machaetas was treated unfairly, he did not reverse his decision, but satisfied the judgement with his own money.[b]

25. When Harpalus, acting in behalf of his kinsman and intimate friend Crates, who was under condemnation for wrongdoing, proposed as a fair solution that Crates should pay the fine, but be absolved from the adverse judgement so that he should not be subject to reproach, Philip said, "It is better that the man himself, rather than that we because of him, should be ill spoken of."

26. When his friends were indignant because the people of the Peloponnesus hissed him at the Olympic games, although they had been treated well, he said, "Well, what if they should be treated ill!" [c]

27. Once on a campaign he slept for an unusually long time, and later, when he arose, he said, "I slept safely, for Antipater was awake." [d]

28. On another occasion when he was asleep in the

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 143 F and 457 F. A similar remark of Pausanias is quoted in *Moralia*, 230 D.

[d] *Cf.* Athenaeus, p. 435 D.

(179) ἠθροισμένων ἐπὶ θύραις Ἑλλήνων ἀγανακτούντων καὶ ἐγκαλούντων, ὁ Παρμενίων, "μὴ θαυμάσητε," εἶπεν, "εἰ καθεύδει νῦν Φίλιππος· ὅτε γὰρ ἐκαθεύδετε ὑμεῖς, οὗτος ἐγρηγόρει."

29. Ψάλτην δέ τινα βουλομένου παρὰ δεῖπνον ἐπανορθοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ λαλεῖν περὶ κρουμάτων, ὁ ψάλτης, "μὴ γένοιτό σοι," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, κακῶς οὕτως, ἵνα ταῦτα ἐμοῦ βέλτιον εἰδῇς."

C 30. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διενεχθέντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἦκε Δημάρατος ὁ Κορίνθιος, ἐπυνθάνετο πῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχουσιν[1] οἱ Ἕλληνες· καὶ ὁ Δημάρατος, "πάνυ γοῦν," ἔφη, "σοὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμονοίας ὁ λόγος ἐστίν, οὕτω πρὸς σὲ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐχόντων." ὁ δὲ συμφρονήσας ἐπαύσατο τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ διηλλάγη πρὸς αὐτούς.

31. Πρεσβύτιδος δὲ πενιχρᾶς ἀξιούσης ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κριθῆναι καὶ πολλάκις ἐνοχλούσης, ἔφη μὴ σχολάζειν· ἡ δὲ πρεσβῦτις ἐκκραγοῦσα, "καὶ μὴ
D βασίλευε," εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐ μόνον ἐκείνης ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐθὺς διήκουσεν.

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ

1. Ἀλέξανδρος ἔτι παῖς ὤν, πολλὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου κατορθοῦντος, οὐκ ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς συν-

[1] ἔχουσιν] Hatzidakis would add ὁμονοίας from *Moralia*, 70 c, and *Life of Alexander*, chap. ix., but it is not absolutely necessary.

[a] Something remotely like this is told of Alexander in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxxi. (683 E).

[b] The story is found also in *Moralia*, 67 F, 334 D, and 634 D.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 70 B (which omits the conclusion) and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. ix. (669 C).

daytime, and the Greeks who had gathered at his doors were indignant and complaining, Parmenio said, " Do not be astonished that Philip is asleep now ; for while you were asleep he was awake." [a]

29. When he desired to correct a harp-player at dinner, and to discuss the playing of this instrument, the harp-player said, " God forbid, Your Majesty, that you should ever fall so low as to have a better knowledge of these matters than I." [b]

30. At a time when he was at odds with Olympias, his wife, and with his son, Demaratus of Corinth arrived, and Philip inquired of him how the Greeks were feeling towards one another. And Demaratus said, " Much right have you to talk about the harmony of the Greeks when the dearest of your own household feel so towards you ! " Philip, taking the thought to heart, ceased from his anger, and became reconciled with them.[c]

31. When a poor old woman insisted that her case should be heard before him, and often caused him annoyance, he said he had no time to spare, whereupon she burst out, " Then give up being king." Philip, amazed at her words, proceeded at once to hear not only her case but those of the others.[d]

ALEXANDER [e]

1. While Alexander was still a boy and Philip was winning many successes, he was not glad, but said to

[d] The story is told also in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xlii. (909 c). Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xiii. 28, quotes Serenus, who states that a peasant made this remark to Antipater.

[e] Alexander the Great, born 356, king of Macedon 336–323 B.C.

(179) τρεφομένους ἔλεγε παῖδας, "ἐμοὶ δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οὐδὲν ἀπολείψει." τῶν δὲ παίδων λεγόντων ὅτι "σοὶ ταῦτα κτᾶται"· "τί δὲ ὄφελος," εἶπεν, "ἐὰν ἔχω μὲν πολλὰ πράξω δὲ μηδέν;"

2. Ἐλαφρὸς δὲ ὢν καὶ ποδώκης καὶ παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Ὀλύμπια δραμεῖν στάδιον, "εἴγε," ἔφη, "βασιλεῖς ἔξειν ἔμελλον ἀνταγωνιστάς."

E 3. Ἀχθείσης δὲ παιδίσκης πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς συναναπαυσομένης περὶ ἑσπέραν βαθεῖαν, ἠρώτησεν ὅ τι τηνικαῦτα; τῆς δὲ εἰπούσης, "περιέμενον γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα κατακλῖναι,[1]" πικρῶς ἐπετίμησε τοῖς παισὶν ὡς μικροῦ δι' αὐτοὺς μοιχὸς γενόμενος.

4. Ἐπιθυμιῶντι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἀφειδῶς αὐτῷ καὶ πολλάκις ἐπιδραττομένῳ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ, παρὼν Λεωνίδης ὁ παιδαγωγός, "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, δαψιλῶς ἐπιθυμιάσεις, ὅταν τῆς λιβανωτοφόρου κρατήσῃς." ὡς οὖν ἐκράτησεν, ἔπεμψεν
F ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτόν· "ἀπέσταλκά σοι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν[2] λιβανωτοῦ καὶ κασίας, ἵνα μηκέτι μικρολογῇ περὶ τοὺς θεούς, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἀρωματοφόρου κρατοῦμεν."

5. Μέλλων δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Γρανίκῳ μάχην μάχεσθαι παρεκάλει τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀφθόνως δειπνεῖν καὶ πάντα φέρειν εἰς μέσον, ὡς αὔριον δειπνήσοντας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων.

[1] κατακλῖναι] κατακλινῆναι van Herwerden.

[2] ἑκατὸν omitted in nearly all MSS. but is in the *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxv.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. v. (666 F). Many of the stories about Alexander are repeated in Zonaras, *Epitome of History*, iv. 8-15.

his playmates, " My father will leave nothing for me to do." " But," said the boys. " he is acquiring all this for you." " But what good is it," said Alexander, " if I possess much and accomplish nothing ? " [a]

2. Being nimble and swift of foot, he was urged by his father to run in the foot-race at the Olympic games. " Yes, I would run," said he, " if I were to have kings as competitors." [b]

3. A girl was brought to him late in the evening with the intent that she should spend the night with him, and he asked her, " Why at this time ? " She replied, " I had to wait to get my husband to go to bed " ; whereupon Alexander bitterly rebuked his servants, since, owing to them, he had so narrowly escaped becoming an adulterer.

4. On a time when he was offering incense to the gods with lavish hand, and often taking up handfuls of the frankincense, Leonidas, who had been his attendant in boyhood, happening to be present, said, " My boy, you may offer incense thus lavishly when you have made yourself master of the land that bears it." And so, when Alexander had become master of it, he sent a letter to Leonidas : " I have sent to you a half-ton of frankincense and cassia, so that you may never again count any petty cost in dealing with the gods, since you know that we are now masters of the land that bears these fragrant things." [c]

5. Just before he fought the battle at Granicus he urged the Macedonians to eat without stint, and to bring out all they had, since on the morrow they should dine from the enemy's stores.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 331 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. iv. (666 D).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxv. (679 C); Pliny, *Natural History*, xii. 32 (62).

6. Περίλλου δέ τινος τῶν φίλων αἰτήσαντος προῖκα τοῖς θυγατρίοις, ἐκέλευσε πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λαβεῖν· αὐτοῦ δὲ φήσαντος ἱκανὰ εἶναι δέκα, "σοί γε," ἔφη, "λαβεῖν, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐχ ἱκανὰ δοῦναι."

7. Ἀναξάρχῳ δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ δοῦναι τὸν διοικητὴν ἐκέλευσεν ὅσον ἂν αἰτήσῃ· τοῦ δὲ διοικητοῦ φήσαντος ὡς ἑκατὸν αἰτεῖ τάλαντα, "καλῶς," 180 ἔφη, "ποιεῖ γινώσκων ὅτι φίλον ἔχει καὶ δυνάμενον τηλικαῦτα δωρεῖσθαι καὶ βουλόμενον."

8. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μιλήτῳ πολλοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀθλητῶν θεασάμενος Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια νενικηκότων, "καὶ ποῦ τὰ τηλικαῦτα," ἔφη, "ἦν σώματα, ὅτε οἱ βάρβαροι ὑμῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιόρκουν;"

9. Τῆς δὲ τῶν Καρῶν βασιλίσσης Ἄδας ὄψα καὶ πέμματα παρεσκευασμένα περιττῶς διὰ δημιουργῶν καὶ μαγείρων φιλοτιμουμένης ἀεὶ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἔφη κρείττονας ἔχειν αὐτὸς ὀψοποιούς, πρὸς μὲν ἄριστον τὴν νυκτοπορίαν πρὸς δὲ δεῖπνον τὴν ὀλιγαριστίαν.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευασμένων πάντων πρὸς Β μάχην, ἠρώτησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ μή τι πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερον; "οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "ἢ ξυρᾶν τὰ γένεια τῶν Μακεδόνων·" θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, "οὐκ οἶδας," εἶπεν, "ὅτι βελτίων οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν μάχαις λαβὴ πώγωνος;"

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[a] Stories of this type about kings have long been popular and often repeated.

[b] Xenocrates seems to have been the lucky recipient, while Anaxarchus received high esteem, according to *Moralia*, 331 E, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. viii. (668 E).

[c] *Cf.* in Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1003, and Athenaeus, 523 F, the proverb, "Once were the Milesians stout and strong."

6. When Perillus, one of his friends, asked him for dowry for his girls, Alexander bade him accept ten thousand pounds. He said that two thousand would be enough; but Alexander said, "Enough for you to accept, but not enough for me to give." [a]

7. He bade his manager give to Anaxarchus, the philosopher, as much as he asked for; and when the manager said that he asked for twenty thousand pounds, Alexander said, "He does well, for he knows that he has a friend who is both able and willing to make such presents." [b]

8. When he saw in Miletus many statues of athletes who had won victories in the Olympic and the Pythian games, he said, "Where were the men with bodies like these when the barbarians were besieging your city?" [c]

9. Ada, queen of the Carians, made it a point of honour to be always sending to him fancy dishes and sweetmeats prepared in unusual ways by the hands of artists and chefs, but he said he had better fancy cooks—his night marches for his breakfast, and for his dinner his frugal breakfast.[d]

10. Once, when all preparations had been made for battle, his generals asked him whether there was anything else in addition to what they had done. "Nothing," said he, "except to shave the Macedonians' beards." And as Parmenio expressed his surprise, Alexander said, "Don't you know that in battles there is nothing handier to grasp than a beard?" [e]

[d] This story with slight variations is found also in *Moralia*, 127 B, 1099 C, and the *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxii. (677 B).

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Theseus*, chap. iii. (3 A); Athenaeus, 565 A.

(180) **11.** Δαρείου δὲ διδόντος[1] αὐτῷ μύρια τάλαντα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν νείμασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίσης, καὶ Παρμενίωνος εἰπόντος, "ἔλαβον ἂν εἰ Αλέξανδρος ἦμην," "κἀγὼ νὴ Δία," εἶπεν, "εἰ Παρμενίων ἦμην." ἀπεκρίνατο δὲ Δαρείῳ μήτε τὴν γῆν ἡλίους δύο μήτε τὴν Ἀσίαν δύο βασιλεῖς ὑπομένειν.

C **12.** Μέλλοντι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐν Ἀρβήλοις κινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἑκατὸν μυριάδας ἀντιτεταγμένας προσῆσαν οἱ φίλοι, τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατηγοροῦντες ὡς ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς διαλαλούντων καὶ συντιθεμένων, ὅπως μηδὲν τῶν λαφύρων εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀνοίσουσιν ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ κερδανοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας, "ἀγαθά," φησίν, "ἀγγέλλετε· νικᾶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν οὐ φεύγειν παρεσκευασμένων ἀκούω διαλογισμούς." καὶ προσιόντες αὐτῷ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔλεγον "ὦ βασιλεῦ, θάρρει καὶ μὴ φοβοῦ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτὸν γὰρ ἡμῶν τὸν γράσον οὐχ ὑπομενοῦσι."

13. Παραταττομένου δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἰδών
D τινα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἀκόντιον ἐναγκυλούμενον ἐξέωσε τῆς φάλαγγος ὡς ἄχρηστον, ὃς παρασκευάζεται δὴ νῦν, ὅτε χρῆσθαι δεῖ τοῖς ὅπλοις.

14. Ἐπιστολὴν δὲ παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἀναγινώσκων ἀπορρήτους κατ' Ἀντιπάτρου διαβολὰς ἔχουσαν, ἅμα τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος ὥσπερ εἰώθει συναναγινώσκοντος, οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν· ὡς δὲ ἀνέγνω, τὸν δακτύλιον ἀφελόμενος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τῷ στόματι τῷ ἐκείνου τὴν σφραγῖδα ἐπέθηκεν.

[1] δὲ διδόντος Bernardakis: διδόντος or δὲ δόντος.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxix. (681 F): 58

11. When Darius offered him two million pounds, and also offered to share Asia equally with him, Parmenio said, "I would take it if I were Alexander." "And so indeed would I," said Alexander, "if I were Parmenio." But he made answer to Darius that the earth could not tolerate two suns, nor Asia two kings.[a]

12. When he was about to risk everything at Arbela against a million men arrayed against him, his friends came to him and accused the soldiers of talking together and making agreements in their tents that they would hand over none of the spoil to the royal treasury, but would keep everything for themselves. And he smiling said, "You bring good news; for I hear in this the talk of men prepared to conquer and not to flee." And many of the soldiers came to him and said, "Be of good cheer, Sire, and do not fear the great numbers of the enemy; for they will not be able to stand the very smell of goat that clings to us."

13. As the army was being drawn up for battle, he saw one of the soldiers fitting the thong to his javelin, and he shoved him out of the line as a useless man who was making ready at this time when he ought to be using his weapons.

14. As he was reading a letter from his mother, which contained secret slanders against Antipater, Hephaestion, as usual, was reading it with him. Alexander did not prevent Hephaestion from reading it, but, when he had finished the reading, he took off his ring, and placed the seal on Hephaestion's lips.[b]

Arrian, *Anabasis*, ii. 25; Diodorus, xvii. 54; Longinus, *De sublimitate*, ix. 4; Valerius Maximus, vi. 4, ext. 3.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 332 F and 340 A, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxxix. (688 A).

(180) 15. Ἐν δὲ Ἄμμωνος ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου παῖς Διὸς προσαγορευθεὶς "οὐδέν γε," ἔφη, "θαυμαστόν, πάντων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς φύσει πατήρ ἐστιν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ ποιεῖται τοὺς ἀρίστους."

E 16. Τοξεύματι δὲ πληγεὶς εἰς τὸ σκέλος, ὡς πολλοὶ συνέδραμον τῶν πολλάκις εἰωθότων αὐτὸν θεὸν προσαγορεύειν, διαχυθεὶς τῷ προσώπῳ, "τουτὶ μὲν αἷμα," εἶπεν, "ὡς ὁρᾶτε, καὶ οὐκ

ἰχὼρ, οἷόσπερ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν."

17. Ἐπαινούντων δὲ ἐνίων τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν εὐτέλειαν ὡς ἀθρύπτως διαιτωμένου καὶ αὐστηρῶς, "ἔξωθεν," εἶπεν, "Ἀντίπατρος λευκοπάρυφός ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὁλοπόρφυρος."

18. Ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι καὶ ψύχει τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἑστιῶντος αὐτόν, ἐσχάραν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πῦρ ὀλίγον εἰσενέγκαντος, ἢ ξύλα ἢ λιβανωτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.

F 19. Ἀντιπατρίδου δὲ καλὴν ψάλτριαν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀγαγόντος, κινηθεὶς τῇ ὄψει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἠρώτησε τὸν Ἀντιπατρίδην, μή τι τυγχάνοι τῆς γυναικὸς ἐρῶν· ἐκείνου δὲ ὁμολογήσαντος, "ὦ μιαρέ," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἀπάξεις εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου τὴν γυναῖκα;"

20. Πάλιν δὲ Πύθωνα τὸν Εὐίου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ ἐρώμενον Κάσανδρος ἐβιάζετο φιλῆσαι· τὸν οὖν Εὔιον ὁρῶν ἀχθόμενον ἀνεπήδησε μετ' ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάσανδρον, κεκραγώς, "ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐρασθῆναί τινος ἔξεστι δι' ὑμᾶς."

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxvii. (680 F).

[b] The story is often repeated: *cf.* for example, *Moralia*, 341 B; Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xxviii. (681 B);

15. In the shrine of Ammon he was hailed by the prophetic priest as the son of Zeus. "That is nothing surprising," said he; "for Zeus is by nature the father of all, and he makes the noblest his own." [a]

16. When he was hit in the leg by an arrow, and many of those who were oftentimes wont to hail him as a god hurried up to him, he, relaxing his countenance, said, "This is blood, as you see, and not

> Ichor, like that which flows from the wounds of the blessed Immortals." [b]

17. When some commended the frugality of Antipater, who, they said, lived a plain and simple life, he remarked, "Outwardly Antipater is plain white, but within he is all purple." [c]

18. When one of his friends was entertaining him in the cold of winter, and brought in a small brazier with a little fire in it, Alexander bade him bring in either firewood or incense.

19. When Antipatrides brought to dinner a beautiful harp-player, Alexander, stirred to love at the sight of her, asked Antipatrides whether he happened to be at all in love with the girl; and when he admitted that he was, Alexander said, "You abominable wretch! Please take her away from here at once."

20. On another occasion Casander forced Python, beloved by Evius the flute-player,[d] to kiss him, and Alexander, seeing that Evius was vexed, leapt up in anger against Casander, exclaiming "It isn't allowable even to fall in love with anybody, because of you and people like you."

Diogenes Laertius, ix. 60; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xliv. (p. 498); Seneca, *Epistulae Moral.* vi. 7. 12.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxix. (754 E).

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Eumenes*, chap. ii. (583 D).

21. Ἀποστέλλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων
181 τοὺς νοσώδεις καὶ ἀναπήρους ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐνεδείχθη τις εἰς τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπογεγραμμένος ἑαυτὸν οὐ νοσῶν. ἐπεὶ οὖν εἰς ὄψιν ἀχθεὶς καὶ ἀνακρινόμενος ὡμολόγησε προφασίζεσθαι δι' ἔρωτα Τελεσίππας ἀπιούσης ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, "πρὸς τίνα δεῖ περὶ τῆς Τελεσίππας διαλέγεσθαι·" πυθόμενος δὲ ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ὦ Ἀντιγένη, πείθωμεν τὴν Τελεσίππαν, ἵνα μείνῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν· βιάζεσθαι γὰρ ἐλευθέραν οὖσαν οὐχ ἡμέτερον."

22. Τῶν δὲ μισθοφορούντων Ἑλλήνων παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίων γενομένων, τοὺς μὲν Ἀθη-
B ναίους ἐκέλευσεν ἐν πέδαις φυλάττειν ὅτι τροφὴν ἔχοντες ἐκ δημοσίου μισθοφοροῦσι καὶ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ὅτι γῆν[1] ἀρίστην κεκτημένοι οὐ γεωργοῦσι· τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίους ἀφῆκεν εἰπὼν ὅτι μόνοις τούτοις οὔτε πόλις οὔτε χώρα δι' ἡμᾶς ἀπολέλειπται.

23. Τῶν δὲ Ἰνδῶν τὸν ἄριστα τοξεύειν δοκοῦντα καὶ λεγόμενον διὰ δακτυλίου τὸν ὀιστὸν ἀφιέναι λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον ἐκέλευσεν ἐπιδείξασθαι, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ὀργισθεὶς ἀνελεῖν προσέταξε· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀγόμενος[2] ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἄγοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἡμερῶν οὐ μεμελέτηκε καὶ ἐφοβήθη διαπεσεῖν, ἀκούσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐθαύμασε καὶ

[1] γῆν Hatzidakis and Kronenberg: τὴν.
[2] ἀγόμενος] ἀπαγόμενος Maximus et Antonius, *Sententiae*, p. 569.

21. When he was sending away to the sea those of the Macedonians who were sick or incapacitated, a man was reported to have put down his name in the list of the sick although there was nothing the matter with him. When therefore the man was brought before Alexander and examined, he admitted that he had employed this ruse because of love for Telesippa, who was departing for the sea ; and Alexander asked, " With whom must one talk concerning Telesippa ? " And when he learned that she was not a slave, he said, " Then let us, Antigenes, try to persuade Telesippa to stay with us ; for to coerce her, a free woman, is not within our right." [a]

22. When Greek mercenaries serving on the enemy's side came into his hands, he would order the Athenians among them to be kept in chains, because, while they could live at the expense of the State, they were serving as mercenaries, and so also the Thessalians, because, although they owned the very best land, they did not till it. But the Thebans he let go free, saying that these alone, because of us, have neither city nor land left to them.

23. When he had taken captive the man who had the greatest repute for marksmanship among the Indians, of whom it was said that he could send an arrow through a finger-ring, Alexander bade him show his skill, and when he would not, the king in anger decreed his execution. The man, as he was being led away, said to those who were taking him that he had not practised for many days, and was afraid of failing ; and when this came to the ears of Alexander, he marvelled and let the man go with

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 339 c, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xli. (689 B).

(181) ἀπέλυσε μετὰ δώρων αὐτόν, ὅτι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ὑπέμεινεν ἢ τῆς δόξης ἀνάξιος φανῆναι.

C 24. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ταξίλης, εἷς τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς ὤν, ἀπαντήσας προεκαλεῖτο μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ πολεμεῖν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀλλ' εἰ μέν ἐστιν ἥττων, εὖ πάσχειν, εἰ δὲ βελτίων, εὖ ποιεῖν, ἀπεκρίνατο περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου μαχετέον εἶναι, πότερος εὖ ποιῶν περιγένηται.

25. Περὶ δὲ τῆς λεγομένης Ἀόρνου πέτρας ἐν Ἰνδοῖς ἀκούσας ὅτι τὸ μὲν χωρίον δυσάλωτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ἔχων αὐτὸ δειλός ἐστι, "νῦν," ἔφη, "τὸ χωρίον εὐάλωτόν ἐστιν."

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλος ἔχων πέτραν ἄληπτον δοκοῦσαν εἶναι ἐνεχείρισεν ἑαυτὸν μετὰ τῆς πέτρας τῷ
D Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκέλευσεν ἄρχειν καὶ προσέθηκε χώραν, εἰπὼν ὅτι φρονεῖν μοι δοκεῖ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀνδρὶ μᾶλλον ἀγαθῷ πιστεύσας ἑαυτὸν ἢ ὀχυρῷ τόπῳ.

27. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς πέτρας ἅλωσιν τῶν φίλων λεγόντων ὑπερβεβληκέναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ταῖς πράξεσιν, "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπε, "τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις μετὰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἑνὸς οὐ νομίζω ῥήματος[1] ἀνταξίας εἶναι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους."

[1] ῥήματος] πράγματος (?); Heracles was not noted for his words! γράμματος E. Capps.

many gifts because he preferred to suffer himself to be put to death rather than to show himself unworthy of his reputation.

24. When Taxiles, king of the Indians, met Alexander, he charged him not to fight or make war, but, if he were inferior, to accept favours, and, if he were superior, to bestow them. To this Alexander replied that this was the very issue between them, to determine which could outdo the other in bestowing favours.[a]

25. When he was told concerning the 'Birdless Rock,'[b] as it is called, in India, that the place was extremely difficult to capture, but that the man who held it was a coward, he said, "In that case it is easy to capture."[c]

26. When another man who held a seemingly impregnable rock surrendered himself together with his stronghold to Alexander, Alexander bade him to continue to rule, and gave him additional country to govern, saying that "this person seems to me to show sense in trusting himself to a good man rather than to a strong place."

27. After the capture of the rock his friends were saying that he had surpassed Heracles in his deeds, but he remarked, "No, I do not feel that my deeds, with my position as commander, are to be weighed against one word of Heracles."[d]

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lix. (698 B).
[b] *Cf.* Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, i. pp. 58 ff.
[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lviii. (697 E); Arrian, *Anabasis*, iv. 28; Diodorus, xvii. 85; Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alexandri*, viii. 11.
[d] Arrian, *Anabasis*, v. 26. 5, represents Alexander as boasting over the capture of the rock, which Heracles had failed to capture.

(181) 28. Τῶν δὲ φίλων τινὰς αἰσθόμενος ἐν τῷ κυβεύειν οὐ παίζοντας[1] ἐζημίωσε.

29. Τῶν δὲ πρώτων φίλων καὶ κρατίστων τιμᾶν μὲν ἐδόκει Κρατερὸν μάλιστα πάντων, φιλεῖν δὲ Ἡφαιστίωνα. "Κρατερὸς μὲν γάρ," ἔφη, "φιλοβασιλεύς ἐστιν, Ἡφαιστίων δὲ φιλαλέξανδρος."

E 30. Ξενοκράτει δὲ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πέμψας, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξατο μὴ δεῖσθαι φήσας, ἠρώτησεν εἰ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχει Ξενοκράτης· "ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ," ἔφη, "μόλις ὁ Δαρείου πλοῦτος εἰς τοὺς φίλους ἤρκεσεν."

31. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Πῶρος ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, "πῶς σοι χρήσωμαι;" "βασιλικῶς," εἶπε, καὶ προσερωτηθείς, "καὶ μή τι ἄλλο;" "πάντα," εἶπεν, "ἐν τῷ 'βασιλικῶς' ἔνεστι"· θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν πλείονα χώραν ἧς πρότερον εἶχε προσέθηκε.

F 32. Πυθόμενος δὲ ὑπό τινος λοιδορεῖσθαι, "βασιλικόν," ἔφη, "ἐστὶν εὖ ποιοῦντα κακῶς ἀκούειν."

33. Ἀποθνήσκων δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἑταίρους ἀπιδὼν ἔφη, "μέγαν ὁρῶ μου τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐσόμενον."

[1] *οὐ παίζοντας*] *συμπαίζοντας* Bernardakis. The question is, of course, whether they played professionally or would not play at all; ⟨*σπ*⟩*ον*⟨*δῇ*⟩, a not uncommon attendant of *παίζω*, would make the first alternative unequivocal, and *οὐ συμπαίζοντας* (E. Capps) would do the same for the second.

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[a] Alexander himself, when he was ill, spent the whole day in throwing dice with Medius, according to Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, chap. lxxvi (706 D).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xlvii. (691 F), and Diodorus, xvii. 114.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 331 E and 333 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. viii. (668 E).

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 332 E and 458 B; Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. lx. (699 C); Arrian, *Anabasis*, v. 19. 2.

28. Learning that in gambling with dice some of his friends did not enter into the game as a sport, he punished them.[a]

29. Of his foremost and most influential friends he seems to have honoured Craterus most and to have loved Hephaestion best. "For," said he, "Craterus is fond of the king, but Hephaestion is fond of Alexander." [b]

30. He sent ten thousand pounds to Xenocrates the philosopher, but when Xenocrates would not accept them, and said he had no need of them, Alexander asked whether Xenocrates had not a single friend. "For, in my case," said he, "the wealth of Darius was hardly enough for my friends." [c]

31. Porus, after the battle, was asked by Alexander, "How shall I treat you?" "Like a king," said he. Asked again if there were nothing else, he said, "Everything is included in those words." Marvelling at his sagacity and manliness, Alexander added to his kingdom more land than he had possessed before.[d]

32. Learning that he was being maligned by a certain man, he said, "It is kingly to be ill spoken of for doing good." [e]

33. As he was dying, he said, looking towards his companions, "I see that my funeral rites will be imposing." [f]

[e] An oft-repeated aphorism; *cf.* for example, Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, chap. xli. (688 E); *Pro Nobilitate*, 19 (Bernardakis ed. vii. p. 268); Diogenes Laertius, vi. 3; Epictetus, *Discourses*, iv. 6; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, vii. 36; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xlvii., last sentence.

[f] *Cf.* Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii. 26. 3; Diodorus, xvii. 117. 4; Quintus Curtius, *Hist. Alexandri*, x. 5. 5; Justinus, *Historiae Phillippicae*, xii. 15.

34. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Δημάδης ὁ ῥήτωρ ὅμοιον ἔφη διὰ τὴν ἀναρχίαν ὁρᾶσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι.

ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΓΟΥ

Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Λάγου τὰ πολλὰ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδείπνει καὶ ἐκάθευδεν· εἰ δέ ποτε δειπνίζοι, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχρῆτο μεταπεμπόμενος ἐκπώματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ τραπέζας· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐκέκτητο πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πλουτεῖν ἔλεγε τὸ πλουτίζειν εἶναι βασιλικώτερον.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ

182 1. Ἀντίγονος εἰσέπραττε χρήματα συντόνως· εἰπόντος δέ τινος, "ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν τοιοῦτος," "εἰκότως," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἐθέριζε τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐγὼ δὲ καλαμῶμαι."

2. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἰδών τινας ἐν τοῖς θώραξι καὶ τοῖς κράνεσι σφαιρίζοντας ἥσθη, καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν μετεπέμπετο ἐπαινέσαι βουλόμενος· ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὅτι πίνουσιν, τὰς ἐκείνων ἡγεμονίας τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔδωκε.

3. Θαυμαζόντων δὲ πάντων ὅτι γέρων γενόμενος
B ἠπίως ἐχρῆτο καὶ πράως τοῖς πράγμασι, "πρότερον μὲν γάρ," εἶπε, "δυνάμεως ἐδεόμην, νῦν δὲ δόξης καὶ εὐνοίας."

4. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν Φίλιππον πυθόμενον πλειό-

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Galba*, chap. i. (1053 c), which also gives Demades as the author; but in *Moralia*, 336 F, the saying is attributed to Leosthenes. *Cf.* also Demetrius Phalereus, *De elocutione*, 284.

34. When he had come to his end, Demades the orator said that the army of the Macedonians, because of its lack of leadership, looked like the Cyclops after his eye had been put out.[a]

PTOLEMY, SON OF LAGUS[b]

Ptolemy, son of Lagus, used, as a rule, to dine and sleep at his friends' houses; and if ever he gave a dinner, he would send for their dishes and linen and tables, and use them for the occasion. He himself owned no more than were required for everyday use; and he used to say that it was more kingly to enrich than to be rich.[c]

ANTIGONUS[d]

1. Antigonus was persistent in his demands for money, and when somebody said, "But Alexander was not like this," he replied, "Very naturally; for he reaped Asia, and I am picking up the straws."

2. Seeing some of his soldiers playing ball in their breastplates and helmets, he was much pleased and sent for their officers, wishing to commend them. But when he heard that they were engaged in drinking, he gave their positions to their soldiers.

3. When all were astonished because, after he had grown old, he handled matters with mildness and gentleness, he said, "Time was when I craved power, but now I crave repute and goodwill among men."

4. To his son Philip, who inquired in the presence

[b] Ptolemy Soter, king of Egypt, 323–285 (or † 283) B.C.
[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 13.
[d] The "One-eyed"; one of Alexander's generals; ruler in Asia Minor, 323–301 B.C.

(182) *νων παρόντων, " πότε μέλλομεν ἀναζευγνύναι;" " τί δέδοικας;" εἶπε, " μὴ μόνος τῆς σάλπιγγος οὐκ ἀκούσῃς*[1]*;"*

5. *Σπουδάσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου λαβεῖν κατάλυσιν παρὰ γυναικὶ χήρᾳ τρεῖς ἐχούσῃ θυγατέρας εὐπρεπεῖς, καλέσας τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ξενίων εἶπεν, " οὐκ ἐξάξεις μου τὸν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στενοχωρίας;"*

6. *Νοσήσας δὲ μακρὰν νόσον ὡς ἀνέρρωσεν, " οὐδέν," ἔφη, " χεῖρον· ὑπέμνησε γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ νόσος μὴ μέγα φρονεῖν ὡς ὄντας θνητούς."*

C 7. *Ἑρμοδότου δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν Ἡλίου παῖδα γράψαντος, " οὐ ταῦτά μοι," ἔφη, " σύνοιδεν ὁ λασανοφόρος."*

8. *Εἰπόντος δέ τινος ὅτι πάντα καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, " ναὶ μὰ Δία," εἶπε, " τοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων· ἡμῖν δὲ μόνα καλὰ τὰ καλὰ καὶ μόνα δίκαια τὰ δίκαια."*

9. *Μαρσύου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ δίκην ἔχοντος, ἀξιοῦντος δὲ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κατ' οἰκίαν, " ἔσται μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, " ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ πάντων ἀκουόντων εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν."*

10. *Ἐπεὶ δέ ποτε χειμῶνος ἐν τόποις σπανίζουσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἠνάγκασε καταζεῦξαι καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐλοιδόρουν αὐτὸν ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι*
D *πλησίον ἐστίν, τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν σκηνὴν διαστείλας*

[1] *ἀκούσῃς Moralia*, 506 D: *ἀκούσῃ*.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 506 C; Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxviii. (902 C), when the remark is addressed to Demetrius. The same remark is attributed to Crassus by Frontinus, *Strategemata*, i. 1. 13.

[b] Repeated by Plutarch in his *Life of Demetrius*, chap.

of numerous persons, " When are we going to break camp ? " he said, " What are you afraid of ? That you alone may not hear the bugle ? " [a]

5. When the young man was determined to take up his quarters at the house of a widow who had three handsome daughters, he called the quartermaster and said, " Will you not get my son out of his crowded quarters ? " [b]

6. He suffered a long illness, and when he had recovered his strength he said, " 'Twas nothing so very bad ; for the illness has reminded us not to feel too proud, since we are but mortal." [c]

7. When Hermodotus in his poems wrote of him as " The Offspring of the Sun," he said, " The slave who attends to my chamber-pot is not conscious of that ! " [d]

8. When somebody remarked that all things are honourable and righteous for kings, he said, " Yes indeed, for kings of the barbarians ; but for me only the honourable things are honourable and the righteous righteous."

9. When Marsyas his brother had a lawsuit, and claimed the right to have the trial held at his house, Antigonus said, " It shall be in the Forum and with everybody listening to see whether we do any injustice."

10. Once upon a time in the winter when he had forced a halt in regions lacking provisions, and some of the soldiers were cursing him, not knowing that he was near, he poked open his tent with his stick,

xxiii. (899 c), and more fully by Frontinus, *Strategemata*, iv. 1. 10.

[c] Attributed to Alexander by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xxi. 15.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 360 c.

(182) "οἰμώξετε," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ μακρότερον ἀποστάντες λοιδορήσετε ἡμᾶς."

11. Ἀριστοδήμου δὲ τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἐκ μαγείρου γεγονέναι δοκοῦντος, συμβουλεύοντος δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν ἀφαιρεῖν, "οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἀριστόδημε, περιζώματος ὄζουσιν."

12. Ἀθηναίων δὲ δοῦλον αὐτοῦ τιμώμενον[1] εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς ἐλεύθερον ἐγγραψάντων, "οὐκ ἄν," εἶπεν, "ἐβουλόμην ἕνα Ἀθηναῖον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μαστιγοῦσθαι.[2]"

13. Νεανίσκου δέ τινος τῶν Ἀναξιμένους τοῦ ῥήτορος μαθητῶν λόγον ἐσκεμμένον ἐκ παρασκευῆς
E εἰπόντος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, βουλομένός τι μαθεῖν ἠρώτησεν· ἀποσιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου, "τί λέγεις;" εἶπεν, "ἢ

ταῦτ' ἐστὶ τἀν δέλτοισιν ἐγγεγραμμένα;"

14. Ἑτέρου δὲ ῥήτορος ἀκούων λέγοντος ὅτι χιονοβόλος ἡ ὥρα γενομένη λιποβοτανεῖν[3] ἐποίησε τὴν χώραν, "οὐ παύσῃ μοι," εἶπεν, "ὡς ὄχλῳ χρώμενος;"

15. Θρασύλλου δὲ τοῦ κυνικοῦ δραχμὴν αἰτήσαντος αὐτόν, "ἀλλ' οὐ βασιλικόν," ἔφη, "τὸ δόμα"· τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος, "οὐκοῦν τάλαντον δός μοι," "ἀλλ' οὐ κυνικόν," ἔφη, "τὸ λῆμμα."

16. Πέμπων δὲ Δημήτριον τὸν υἱὸν μετὰ νεῶν

[1] *τιμώμενον*] *γενόμενον* Cobet.

[2] *μαστιγοῦσθαι*] *μεμαστιγῶσθαι* Pantazides and S. A. Naber, but *μαστιγοῦσθαι* can be defended as an "imperfect infinitive."

[3] λιποβοτανεῖν Bernardakis: λειποβοτανεῖν.

[a] Repeated in *Moralia*, 457 E, and Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 22. 2.

[b] Possibly the son of Eutropion, *Moralia*, 11 A.

and said, " You'll be sorry if you don't go farther off to curse me." [a]

11. When Aristodemus,[b] one of his friends, who, it was whispered, was the son of a cook, advised him to curtail his expenditures and his giving of presents, he said, " Aristodemus, your words have the stink of a kitchen apron."

12. When the Athenians admitted to citizenship a slave of his, held in much esteem, and enrolled him as a free man, he said, " I could wish that one Athenian had not been flogged by me ! "

13. A young man, one of the pupils of Anaximenes the orator, pronounced before him a very carefully prepared oration, and he, wishing to gain some further information, asked a question. But when the young man relapsed into silence, he remarked, " What is your answer ? Or

Is this the content of the written page ? " [c]

14. Hearing another orator say that the season had been snowy,[d] and so had caused a lack of herbage in the land, he said, " Please stop treating me as you treat a common crowd."

15. When Thrasyllus the Cynic asked him for a shilling, he said " That is not a fit gift for a king to give." And when Thrasyllus said, " Then give me two hundred pounds," he retorted, " But that is not a fit gift for a Cynic to receive." [e]

16. When he sent Demetrius his son, with many

[c] Euripides, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, 787.

[d] This could hardly refer (as some think) to the unseasonably cold weather in the spring (of 307 B.C. ?) recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xii. (894 c).

[e] The story is told more fully in *Moralia*, 551 E, and by Seneca, *De beneficiis*, ii. 17. 1.

πολλῶν καὶ δυνάμεων ἐλευθερώσοντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας
F ἔλεγε τὴν δόξαν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην πυρσεύεσθαι.

17. Ἀνταγόρου δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ γόγγρον ἕψοντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν λοπάδα σείοντος, ἐπιστὰς ἐξόπισθεν, "οἵει," φησί, "τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὦ Ἀνταγόρα, γόγγρον ἕψειν τὰς τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος γράφοντα πράξεις;" καὶ ὁ Ἀνταγόρας, "σὺ δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα νομίζεις πράττοντα τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας πολυπραγμονεῖν, εἴ τις ἐν τῷ
183 στρατοπέδῳ γόγγρον ἕψει;"

18. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὄναρ ἰδὼν χρυσοῦν θέρος ἐξαμῶντα Μιθριδάτην ἐβουλεύσατο κτεῖναι, καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ υἱῷ φράσας ὤρκωσε σιωπήσειν,[1] παραλαβὼν[2] τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ συμπεριπατῶν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ κατέγραψε τῷ σαυρωτῆρι τοῦ δόρατος, "φεῦγε, Μιθριδάτα." ἐκεῖνος δὲ νοήσας ἔφυγεν εἰς Πόντον κἀκεῖ βασιλεύων διετέλεσε.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ

1. Ῥοδίους δὲ πολιορκῶν ὁ Δημήτριος ἔλαβεν ἔν τινι προαστείῳ πίνακα Πρωτογένους τοῦ

[1] σιωπήσειν, *Life of Demetrius*, chap. iv. is probably right: σιωπῆσαι.

[2] παραλαβὼν F.C.B.: ὁ δὲ παραλαβών. Some slight change is required to make the sentence grammatical. Bernardakis accomplishes the same result by omitting Ἐπεὶ δ' and ὁ Δημήτριος.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. viii. (892 B), where the phraseology is slightly different.

ships and forces, to make the Greeks a free people, he said that his repute, kindled in Greece as on a lofty height, would spread like beacon-fires throughout the inhabited world.[a]

17. While Antagoras the poet was cooking a conger-eel, and was shaking the skillet with his own hand, Antigonus stepped up behind him and said, "Antagoras, do you imagine that Homer cooked a conger while he was writing of the exploits of Agamemnon?" To which Antagoras retorted, "And do you, Your Majesty, believe that Agamemnon, while he was performing those exploits, was overmuch concerned if anybody in the army cooked a conger?"[b]

18. In a dream he saw Mithradates reaping a golden harvest, and thereupon planned to kill him. He told Demetrius his son, and bound him by an oath to silence. But Demetrius took Mithridates to walk with him beside the sea, and with the butt of his spear wrote in the sand, "Flee, Mithridates." And Mithridates, understanding the purport, fled to Pontus and reigned there until his end.[c]

DEMETRIUS[d]

1. When Demetrius was besieging the Rhodians[e] he seized in one of the suburbs a painting of the

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 668 C, and Athenaeus, 340 F, who quotes as his authority Hegesander.

[c] Plutarch tells the story at length in his *Life of Demetrius*, chap. iv. (890 C); *cf.* also Appian, *Roman History, Mithridatic Wars*, 9. Mithridates became the founder of the line of Pontic kings, which lasted until 63 B.C., when Mithridates VI. was conquered by Pompey.

[d] Son of Antigonus, known as Demetrius Poliorcetes (the Besieger).

[e] In 305–304 B.C.

B ζωγράφου τὸν Ἰάλυσον γράφοντος· ἐπικηρυκευσα-
(183) μένων δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ φείσασθαι τοῦ πίνακος παρακαλούντων, ἔφη "μᾶλλον ἄν[1] τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς εἰκόνας ἢ τὴν γραφὴν ἐκείνην διαφθεῖραι." σπεισάμενος δὲ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις τὴν ἑλέπολιν ἀπέλιπε παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὑπόδειγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλουργίας ἐκείνων δὲ ἀνδρείας ἐσομένην.

2. Ἀποστάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἑλὼν τὴν πόλιν ἤδη κακῶς ὑπὸ σιτοδείας ἔχουσαν, εὐθὺς ἐκκλησίας αὐτῷ συναχθείσης, ἐπέδωκε δωρεὰν σῖτον αὐτοῖς· δημηγορῶν δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐβαρ-
C βάρισε· τῶν δὲ καθημένων τινὸς ὡς ἔδει τὸ ῥῆμα λεχθῆναι παραφωνήσαντος, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "καὶ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως ταύτης ἄλλους ὑμῖν πεντακισχιλίους ἐπιδίδωμι μεδίμνους."

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος, Δημητρίου τοῦ πατρὸς ἁλόντος καὶ πέμψαντός τινα τῶν φίλων καὶ κελεύοντος μὴ προσέχειν, ἄν τι γράφῃ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, μηδὲ παραχωρεῖν τῶν πόλεων, αὐτὸς ἔγραψε πρὸς Σέλευκον ἐξιστάμενος αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης καὶ παραδιδοὺς ὅμηρον ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν πατέρα Δημήτριον ἀπολυθῆναι.

[1] ἄν added by Bernardakis.

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[a] The painting was seen by Cicero (*Orator*, 2 (5)) at Rhodes; later it was carried to Rome and placed in the temple of Peace (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 36 (102)).

[b] This engine is described by Diodorus, xx. 48, and Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxi. (898 B).

[c] The story is told by Plutarch in his *Life of Demetrius*,

artist Protogenes in which he portrayed Ialysus. The Rhodians sent a herald to him and besought him to spare the painting. He replied that he would sooner destroy the statues and portraits of his father than that painting.[a] And coming to terms with the Rhodians, he left his great siege-engine, the City-taker,[b] with them to serve as a token of his prowess and of their courage.[c]

2. The Athenians revolted, and when he had taken their city, which was already in serious straits from lack of food, an assembly of the people was immediately summoned by him, and he made them a present of grain.[d] In speaking about this before them he lapsed into a barbarism. One of those sitting there repeated the phrase as it should have been spoken, and he said, "For this correction, then, I give you eight thousand bushels more."

ANTIGONUS THE SECOND[e]

1. When Demetrius, the father of Antigonus the Second, had been taken captive, he sent one of his friends and urged Antigonus to pay no attention if he should write anything under compulsion of Seleucus, and not to withdraw from the cities; but Antigonus of his own accord wrote to Seleucus resigning to him his whole kingdom and offering to surrender himself as a hostage on condition that his father Demetrius be released.[f]

chap. xxii. (898 E); Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 36 (105); and Aulus Gellius, xv. 31.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxxiv. (905 B).

[e] Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, 283–239 B.C.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. li. (914 D).

(183) D 2. Μέλλων δὲ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς, εἰπόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου πολὺ πλείονας εἶναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς, "ἐμὲ δέ," ἔφη, "αὐτὸν παρόντα πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττεις;"

3. Ὑποχωρῶν δέ ποτε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπερχομένοις οὐκ ἔφη φεύγειν, ἀλλὰ διώκειν τὸ συμφέρον ὀπίσω κείμενον.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἀνδρείου πατρός, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ πάνυ δοκῶν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι στρατιώτης ἠξίου τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνειν ἀποφοράς, "ἀλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "ὦ μειράκιον, ἀνδραγαθίας οὐ πατραγαθίας μισθοὺς καὶ δωρεὰς δίδωμι."

5. Ζήνωνος δὲ τοῦ Κιτιέως ἀποθανόντος, ὃν μάλιστα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐθαύμασεν, ἔλεγε τὸ θέατρον αὐτοῦ τῶν πράξεων ἀνῃρῆσθαι.

E ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΥ

1. Λυσίμαχος ἐν Θράκῃ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ Δρομιχαίτου καὶ διὰ δίψαν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα παραδούς, ὡς ἔπιεν αἰχμάλωτος γενόμενος, "ὦ θεοί," εἶπεν, "ὡς μικρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα δοῦλον ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βασιλέως πεποίηκα."

2. Πρὸς δὲ Φιλιππίδην τὸν κωμῳδιοποιὸν[1] φίλον ὄντα καὶ συνήθη, "τίνος σοι," εἶπε, "τῶν ἐμῶν

[1] κωμῳδιοποιὸν, the preferred form, Bernardakis: κωμῳδοποιὸν.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 545 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. (278 D), both showing variation in wording and details; also Athenaeus, 209 E, and Gulick's note in the L.C.L., vol. ii. p. 447.

[b] *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, vii. 15.

2. When Antigonus was about to engage in a naval battle against Ptolemy's generals, the pilot said that the ships of the enemy far outnumbered their own. "But," said Antigonus, "how many ships do you think my own presence here is equivalent to?" [a]

3. Once when he was withdrawing before the advance of the enemy, he said that he was not fleeing, but was following up his advantage, which lay in the rear.

4. When a young man, son of a brave father, but not himself having any reputation for being a good soldier, suggested the propriety of his receiving his father's emoluments, Antigonus said, "My boy, I give pay and presents for the excellence of a man, not for the excellence of his father."

5. When Zeno of Citium died, whom he admired most among the philosophers, he said that the audience to hear of his exploits had been taken away.[b]

LYSIMACHUS [c]

1. Lysimachus was overpowered by Dromichaetas in Thrace, and because of thirst surrendered himself and his army [d]; and when he drank after he had been made a prisoner, he said, "My God, for what a little pleasure have I made myself a slave from being a king!" [e]

2. To Philippides the comic poet who was his friend and intimate he said, "What of mine shall I share

[c] One of Alexander's generals; later king of Thrace.

[d] In 292 B.C.

[e] The story is repeated with slight variations in *Moralia*, 126 E and 555 D; the capture of Lysimachus is recorded in Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxxix. (908 B); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, vii. 25; Diodorus, xxi. 12.

μεταδῶ;" κἀκεῖνος, "οὗ βούλει, πλὴν τῶν ἀπορρήτων."

ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ

F 1. Ἀντίπατρος ἀκούσας τὴν Παρμενίωνος ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, "εἰ μὲν ἐπεβούλευσεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Παρμενίων," εἶπε, "τίνι πιστευτέον; εἰ δὲ μή, τί πρακτέον;"

2. Δημάδου δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἤδη πρεσβύτου γεγονότος ἔφη καθάπερ ἱερείου διαπεπραγμένου καταλείπεσθαι μόνην τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΤΡΙΤΟΥ

1. Ἀντίοχος ὁ τρίτος ἔγραψε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἄν τι γράψῃ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους κελεύων γενέσθαι, μὴ προσέχειν ὡς ἠγνοηκότι.

2. Τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρειαν ἰδὼν ὑπερβολῇ καλὴν φανεῖσαν εὐθὺς ἀνέζευξεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου, φοβούμενος μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐκβιασθῇ πρᾶξαί τι τῶν οὐχ ὁσίων.

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΚΟΣ

Ἀντίοχος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ἱέραξ ἐπολέμει περὶ τῆς
184 βασιλείας πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σέλευκον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Σέλευκος ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν οὐδαμοῦ φανερὸς

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[a] Repeated with slight variations in *Moralia*, 508 C and 517 B.

[b] Trusted general of Philip and Alexander.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 525 C and Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. i. (741 E). Pytheas (quoted in Athenaeus, 44 F) speaks of Demades' protruding belly and ranting tongue.

with you?" And the other replied, "What you will, except your secrets."[a]

ANTIPATER[b]

1. Antipater, hearing of the death of Parmenio at the hands of Alexander, said, "If Parmenio plotted against Alexander, who is to be trusted? And if he did not, what is to be done?"

2. Of Demades the orator, who had already become an old man, he said that he was like an animal which had been eaten at a sacrificial feast; there was left only the belly and the tongue.[c]

ANTIOCHUS THE THIRD[d]

1. Antiochus the Third wrote to the cities that, if he should write ordering anything to be done contrary to the laws, they should pay no attention, assuming that he had acted in ignorance.

2. Seeing the priestess of Artemis surpassingly beautiful in her appearance, he straightway marched forth from Ephesus,[e] for fear that even against his determination he might be constrained to commit some unholy act.

ANTIOCHUS THE HAWK

Antiochus who was nicknamed the Hawk was warring against his brother Seleucus for the kingdom.[f] But when Seleucus, vanquished by the Galatians, could nowhere be found, but, to all appearances, had

[a] Antiochus the Great presumably, king of Syria, 223–187 B.C.

[e] In 196 B.C. presumably, when he wintered in Ephesus (Livy, xxxiii. 38).

[f] In 246 B.C.

(184) ἦν ἀλλ' ἐδόκει κατακεκόφθαι, θεὶς τὴν πορφύραν ὁ Ἀντίοχος φαιὸν ἱμάτιον ἀνέλαβε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν ἀδελφὸν σῴζεσθαι, εὐαγγέλια τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσε καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ[1] στεφανηφορεῖν ἐποίησεν.

ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ

Εὐμένης ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὑπὸ Περσέως ἔδοξε τεθνάναι· τῆς δὲ φήμης εἰς Πέργαμον κομισθείσης,
B Ἄτταλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ περιθέμενος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα γήμας ἐβασίλευσε· πυθόμενος δὲ προσιόντα ζῶντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπήντησεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει μετὰ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων δοράτιον ἔχων· ὁ δὲ Εὐμένης φιλοφρόνως ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς εἰπών,

"μὴ σπεῦδε γῆμαι πρὶν τελευτήσαντ' ἴδῃς,"

οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον οὔτ' εἶπεν ὕποπτον οὔτε ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπέλιπεν. ἀνθ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τέκνον ἔθρεψε, πολλῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ τῷ Εὐμένους υἱῷ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔτι ζῶν ἐνηλίκῳ γενομένῳ παρέδωκε.

C ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΠΕΙΡΩΤΟΥ

1. Πύρρον οἱ υἱοὶ παῖδες ὄντες ἠρώτων, τίνι

[1] ἑαυτῷ (*cf.* 211 A) Hatzidakis: ἑαυτὸν or ἑαυτοῦ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 489 A.
[b] Eumenes II., king of Pergamum, 197–159 B.C.
[c] Apparently a parody of a line of Sophocles adapted to

been cut down in battle, Antiochus laid aside his purple and assumed a dark robe. But after a little time, learning that his brother was safe and sound, he offered sacrifices to the gods to celebrate the good tidings, and made the people in the cities under him to wear garlands.[a]

EUMENES[b]

Eumenes, plotted against by Perseus, was reputed to be dead. When the story was brought to Pergamum, Attalus his brother put on the crown, married his wife, and assumed the rule. But upon learning that his brother was approaching alive, he went to meet him, attended, as was his wont, by his bodyguards, and holding a short spear. Eumenes greeted him kindly and whispered in his ear,

"Haste not to marry ere you see him dead,"[c]

and neither said nor did anything else during his whole lifetime to arouse suspicion, but when he died he left to Attalus his wife and his kingdom. As a requital, Attalus reared no child of his own, although many were born, but while still living he transferred the kingdom to Eumenes' son when the boy became of age.[d]

PYRRHUS OF EPEIRUS[e]

1. The sons of Pyrrhus, when they were children

fit the situation (*μήπω μέγ' εἴπῃς*, κτλ.). See Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, No. 601.

[a] The story is told also in *Moralia*, 489 E. *Cf.* also W. S. Ferguson, "The Premature Deification of Eumenes II.," in *Classical Philology*, i. p. 231.

[e] King of Epeirus *circa* 307–272 B.C.

(184) καταλείψει τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ ὁ Πύρρος εἶπεν, "ὃς ἂν ὑμῶν ὀξυτέραν[1] ἔχῃ τὴν μάχαιραν."

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον Πύθων ἢ Καφισίας[2] αὐλητὴς ἀμείνων, "Πολυσπέρχων,[3]" ἔφη, "στρατηγός."

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συμβαλὼν Ῥωμαίοις δὶς ἐνίκησε πολλοὺς τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπολέσας, "ἂν ἔτι," ἔφη, "μίαν μάχην Ῥωμαίους νικήσωμεν, ἀπολώλαμεν."

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σικελίας ἀποτυχὼν ἐξέπλει, μεταστραφεὶς ὀπίσω πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, "οἷαν," ἔφη,
D "Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπολείπομεν παλαίστραν."

5. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν Ἀετὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορευόντων, "τί γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐ μέλλω, τοῖς ὑμετέροις ὅπλοις ὥσπερ ὠκυπτέροις αἰρόμενος;"

6. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι νεανίσκοι πολλὰ βλάσφημα περὶ αὐτοῦ πίνοντες εἰρήκασιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι μεθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἅπαντας· ἀχθέντων δέ, τὸν πρῶτον ἠρώτησεν εἰ ταῦτα εἰρήκασι περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος, "ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλεῦ· πλείονα δ' ἂν τούτων εἰρήκειμεν, εἰ πλείονα οἶνον εἴχομεν."

[1] ὀξυτέραν] ὀξυτάτην Blass.

[2] Καφισίας, the reading of the mss. of other authors who mention him. Also the name of a sculptor is so spelled in an inscription: καφίσιος.

[3] Πολυσπέρχων Xylander, from the *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. as well as other writers: πολυπέρχων or πολυσπέρχης.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. ix. (388 A).

asked their father to whom he intended to leave the kingdom ; and he said, " To that one of you who keeps his sword sharper." [a]

2. Being asked whether Python or Caphisias were the better flute-player he said, " Polysperchon is the better general." [b]

3. When he was twice victorious in conflict with the Romans, but lost many of his friends and commanders, he said, " If we are victorious over the Romans in one more battle, we are lost ! " [c]

4. As he was sailing away from Sicily after his failure there,[d] he turned to look back, and said to his friends, " What a field of conflict are we leaving behind us for the Romans and Carthaginians to wrestle in ! " [e]

5. When the soldiers addressed him as ' Eagle,' he said, " Why not an eagle, when I am borne aloft on the swift wings of your weapons ? " [f]

6. Hearing that some young men had made many defamatory remarks about him while in their cups, he ordered that they should all be brought before him the next day. When they were brought, he asked the first whether they had said these things about him. And the young man replied, " Yes, Your Majesty ; and we should have said more than that if we had had more wine." [g]

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. (387 D).

[c] The details may be found *ibid.* chap. xxii. (397 B). The " Pyrrhic victory " is like the " Cadmean victory," *Moralia*, 10 A.

[d] In 276 B.C.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. xxiii. (398 F).

[f] *Ibid.* chap. x. (388 B).

[g] Told with more details by Plutarch in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, chap. viii. (387 F), and Valerius Maximus, v. 1, ext. 3. *Cf.* also Quintilian, vi. 3. 10.

(184) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

1. Ἀντίοχος ὁ στρατεύσας δεύτερον ἐπὶ Πάρθους, ἔν τινι κυνηγεσίῳ καὶ διωγμῷ τῶν φίλων καὶ
E θεραπόντων ἀποπλανηθείς, εἰς ἔπαυλιν πενήτων ἀνθρώπων ἀγνοούμενος εἰσῆλθε· καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐμβαλὼν λόγον περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἤκουσεν, ὅτι τἄλλα χρηστός ἐστιν, φίλοις δὲ μοχθηροῖς ἐπιτρέπων τὰ πλεῖστα παρορᾷ καὶ πολλάκις ἀμελεῖ τῶν ἀναγκαίων διὰ τὸ λίαν φιλόθηρος εἶναι. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐσιώπησεν· ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν δορυφόρων παραγενομένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἔπαυλιν φανερὸς γενόμενος, προσφερομένης τῆς πορφύρας αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος, "ἀλλὰ ἀφ' ἧς," εἶπεν, "ἡμέρας ὑμᾶς ἀνείληφα, πρῶτον ἐχθὲς ἀληθινῶν λόγων ἤκουσα περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ."

F 2. Τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων, παλιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἑορτὴν αἰτησαμένων ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἀνοχάς, οὐ μόνον ἔδωκε ταύτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύρους χρυσόκερως παρασκευασάμενος καὶ θυμιαμάτων καὶ ἀρωμάτων πλῆθος ἄχρι τῶν πυλῶν ἐπόμπευσε· καὶ παραδοὺς τοῖς ἐκείνων ἱερεῦσι τὴν θυσίαν αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι θαυμάσαντες εὐθὺς ἑαυτοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐνεχείρισαν.

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1. Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν ἐν πότοις ἐκυλινδεῖτο καὶ γυναιξίν· ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιλτιάδης στρατηγῶν

[a] Antiochus VII., king of Syria, 137–128 B.C.
[b] The first campaign was against Jerusalem in 133 B.C.
[c] The same facts are narrated by Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, xiii. 8. 2.

ANTIOCHUS [a]

1. Antiochus, who made his next [b] campaign against the Parthians, in a hunt and chase wandered away from his friends and servants, and unrecognized entered the hut of some poor people. At dinner he brought in the subject of the king, and heard that, in general, he was a decent man, but that he entrusted most matters to friends who were scurvy fellows, and overlooked and often disregarded matters that were imperative through being too fond of hunting. At the time he said nothing ; but at daybreak some of his bodyguards arrived at the hut, and his identity was disclosed when the purple and the crown were brought to him. " Howbeit," said he, " since the day when I donned you, yesterday was the first time that I heard true words about myself."

2. The Jews, when he was besieging Jerusalem, asked for an armistice of seven days for their most important festival, and he not only granted this, but he also made ready bulls with gilded horns, and a great quantity of incense and spices, and brought all these in solemn procession as far as the gates. Then, having transferred the offering to the hands of their priests, he returned to his camp. The Jews were amazed, and immediately after the festival placed themselves in his hands.[c]

THEMISTOCLES [d]

1. Themistocles while yet in his youth abandoned himself to wine and women.[e] But after Miltiades,

[d] Leader of the Athenians against the Persians in 480 B.C.
[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 552 B; Athenaeus, pp. 533 D and 576 C.

185 ἐνίκησεν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους, οὐκέτι ἦν ἐντυχεῖν ἀτακτοῦντι Θεμιστοκλεῖ· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας τὴν μεταβολὴν ἔλεγεν ὡς "οὐκ ἐᾷ με καθεύδειν οὐδὲ ῥᾳθυμεῖν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον."

2. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐβούλετ' ἂν ἢ Ὅμηρος εἶναι, "σὺ δ' αὐτός," ἔφη, "πότερον ἤθελες ὁ νικῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν[1] ἢ ὁ κηρύττων τοὺς νικῶντας εἶναι;"

3. Ξέρξου δὲ καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῷ μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, φοβηθεὶς Ἐπικύδην τὸν δημαγωγὸν αἰσχροκερδῆ καὶ δειλὸν ὄντα μὴ στρατηγὸς γενόμενος ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπεισεν ἀργυρίῳ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀποστῆναι.

4. Ἀδειμάντου δὲ ναυμαχεῖν μὴ τολμῶντος, εἰ-
B πόντος πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρακαλοῦντα καὶ προτρέποντα, "ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι προεξανισταμένους μαστιγοῦσιν ἀεί,[2]" "ναί," εἶπεν, "ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, τοὺς δὲ λειπομένους οὐ στεφανοῦσιν."

5. Ἐπαραμένου δὲ τοῦ Εὐρυβιάδου τὴν βακτηρίαν ὡς πατάξοντος, "πάταξον μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἄκουσον δέ."

[1] Ὀλυμπίασιν Bernardakis: ἐν ὀλυμπιάσιν.

[2] ἀεί] Wyttenbach would omit, but the embellishment does not seem out of place.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. iii. (113 B); *Moralia*, 84 B, 92 C, 800 B; Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, iv. 19 (44); and Valerius Maximus, viii. 14, ext. 1.

[b] The remark is attributed to Alexander by Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* ii. (22 M., 79 R.).

commanding the Athenian army, had overcome the barbarians at Marathon, never again was it possible to encounter Themistocles misconducting himself. To those who expressed their amazement at the change in him, he said that " the trophy of Miltiades does not allow me to sleep or to be indolent." [a]

2. Being asked whether he would rather have been Achilles or Homer, he said, " How about you yourself? Would you rather be the victor at the Olympic games or the announcer of the victor? " [b]

3. When Xerxes was descending upon Greece with his mighty armament, Themistocles was afraid of Epicydes the popular leader, unscrupulous and cowardly, lest possibly he might, by being elected general, bring about the ruin of the State; and so he bribed Epicydes to withdraw from his attempt to gain the command.[c]

4. When Adeimantus lacked the courage to risk a naval battle, and said to Themistocles, who was exhorting and urging on the Greeks, " Themistocles, in the games they always scourge the runners who start before the signal is given," Themistocles replied, " Yes, Adeimantus, but they do not crown those who are left behind in the race." [d]

5. When Eurybiades lifted his cane as though to strike him, he said, " Strike but listen." [e]

[c] The story is told more fully in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. vi. (114 D).

[d] Adeimantus is the speaker here, as in Herodotus, viii. 59; but in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xi. (117 D), the remark is attributed not to the Corinthian Adeimantus, but to Eurybiades the Spartan, who was in command of the fleet.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xi. (117 E); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 40; Diogenes Laertius, vi. 21.

(185) 6. Μὴ *πείθων δὲ τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην ἐν τοῖς στε-*
νοῖς ναυμαχῆσαι, κρύφα πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον
ἔπεμψε παραινῶν μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπο-
διδράσκοντας· ἐπεὶ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος ἡττήθη
ναυμαχήσας ὅπου συνέφερε τοῖς Ἕλλησι, πάλιν
C *ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν κελεύων φεύγειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλ-*
λήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην ὡς τῶν Ἑλλήνων διανοου-
μένων λύειν τὴν γέφυραν, ἵνα σῴζων τοὺς Ἕλ-
ληνας ἐκεῖνον δοκῇ σῴζειν.

7. Τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου *πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐ*
δι' αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἔνδοξός ἐστιν,
"ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἂν ἐγὼ
Σερίφιος ὢν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος οὔτε σὺ Ἀθηναῖος."

8. Ἀντιφάτου δὲ *τοῦ καλοῦ πρότερον μὲν*
ἐρῶντα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φεύγοντος καὶ κατα-
φρονοῦντος, ἐπεὶ δὲ δόξαν ἔσχε μεγάλην καὶ
δύναμιν, προσερχομένου καὶ κολακεύοντος, "ὦ
μειράκιον," εἶπεν, "ὀψὲ μὲν ἀμφότεροι ἀλλὰ[1]
νοῦν ἐσχήκαμεν."

D 9. Πρὸς δὲ Σιμωνίδην *ἐξαιτούμενόν τινα κρί-*
σιν οὐ δικαίαν ἔφη μήτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι ποι-
ητὴν ἀγαθὸν ᾄδοντα παρὰ μέλος μήτ' αὐτὸν
ἄρχοντα χρηστὸν δικάζοντα παρὰ τὸν νόμον.

[1] ἀλλὰ] δ' ἅμα, *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii., is preferred here by some editors.

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[a] The details may be found in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chaps. xii.-xvi. (118 B-120 C). The story comes from Herodotus, viii. 75 and 110. *Cf.* also Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 30. 3 and 4.

[b] In almost the same words in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 B), but the story goes back to Herodotus, viii. 125, where Timodemus is the speaker, and Themistocles names the island of Belbina. The man from

6. Unable to persuade Eurybiades to engage the enemy's ships in the narrows, he sent a secret message to the barbarian telling him not to be afraid of the Greeks, who were running away. And when the barbarian, by taking this advice, was vanquished in the battle because he fought where the Greeks had the advantage, Themistocles again sent a message to him, bidding him flee to the Hellespont by the speediest route, since the Greeks were minded to destroy the bridge. In this his purpose was, while saving the Greeks, to give the king the impression that he was saving him.[a]

7. When the man from Seriphus said to him that it was not because of himself but because of his country that he was famous, Themistocles remarked, "What you say is true enough; but if I were from Seriphus, I should not have become famous, nor would you if you were from Athens." [b]

8. Antiphates, the handsome youth of whom Themistocles was enamoured, avoided him in the earlier days, and looked down upon him, but, after Themistocles had acquired great repute and power, kept coming to him and trying to flatter him. "My boy," said Themistocles, "it has taken time, but now we have both come to have sense." [c]

9. To Simonides, who petitioned for a legal decision which was not just, he said that Simonides would not be a good poet if he sang out of tune, nor should he himself be a useful official if he gave a decision out of tune with the law.[d]

Seriphus is found first in Plato, *Republic*, 329 E and persists thereafter, as in Plutarch and in Cicero, *De senectute*, 3 (8), and in Origen, *Against Celsus*, i. 29 (347 E).

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 A).

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 534 E and 807 B.

(185) 10. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ πλεῖστον Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγε δύνασθαι· τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' ἑαυτόν, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ἐκεῖνον.

E 11. Τῶν δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπιεικῆ τοῦ πλουσίου προτιμήσας ἄνδρα ἔφη ζητεῖν χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός.

12. Χωρίον δὲ πωλῶν ἐκέλευσε κηρύττειν ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει.

13. Τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸν προπηλακιζόντων, "τί κοπιᾶτε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις εὐχρηστούμενοι;" καὶ ταῖς πλατάνοις ἀπείκαζεν αὑτόν, αἷς ὑποτρέχουσι χειμαζόμενοι, γενομένης δὲ εὐδίας τίλλουσι παρερχόμενοι καὶ κολούουσιν.[1]

14. Τοὺς δὲ Ἐρετριεῖς ἐπισκώπτων ἔλεγεν ὥσπερ τευθίδας μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχειν καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχειν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσε τῶν Ἀθηνῶν[2] τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀναβὰς πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ κελευόμενος λέγειν ἔφη τὸν λόγον ἐοικέναι τοῖς ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τοῦτον F ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδεικνύναι τὰ εἴδη, συστελλό-

[1] κολούουσιν] λοιδοροῦσι in some MSS. and editions; but the passages cited in note *d* support κολούουσιν.

[2] Ἀθηνῶν Cobet: ἀθηναίων.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 1 c; Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 B); and *Life of Cato Major*, chap. viii. (340 B).

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 C): Cicero, *De officiis*, ii. 20 (71); Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, ext. 9. A somewhat similar remark is attributed to Pericles by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxx. 17, and to a Spartan (on the authority of Serenus), lxxii. 15.

10. Of his son, who was pert towards his mother, he said that the boy wielded more power than anybody else in Greece; for the Athenians ruled the Greeks, he himself ruled the Athenians, the boy's mother ruled himself, and the boy ruled the mother.[a]

11. Of the suitors for his daughter's hand he esteemed the man of promise higher than the man of wealth, saying that he was looking for a man that was in need of money rather than for money that was in need of a man.[b]

12. When he offered a plot of land for sale, he ordered the announcement to be made that it also had a good neighbour.[c]

13. When the Athenians treated him with contumely, he said, "Why do you grow tired of being well served many times by the same men?" He also likened himself to the plane-trees, beneath which men hasten when overtaken by a storm, but, when fair weather comes, they pluck the leaves as they pass by and break off the branches.[d]

14. The Eretrians, he said humorously, were like cuttle-fish in having a sword [e] but no heart.[f]

15. After his banishment from Athens first, and later from Greece, he went to the Persian king, and, when he was bidden to speak, he said that speech is like rugs woven with patterns and figures; for speech, like the rugs, when it is extended, displays its figures, but, when it is rolled into a small compass,

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 c).
[b] *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. (121 A), and chap. xxii. (123 A); *cf.* also Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 18.
[c] The "bone" of the cuttle-fish; *cf.* Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, iv. 1. 12.
[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xi. (118 A).

μενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν. (16) ἠτήσατο δὲ καὶ χρόνον ὅπως τὴν Περσικὴν διάλεκτον καταμαθὼν δι' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μὴ δι' ἑτέρου ποιήσαιτο τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν.[1]

17. Πολλῶν δὲ δωρεῶν ἀξιωθεὶς καὶ ταχὺ πλούσιος γενόμενος πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλώλειμεν."

ΜΥΡΩΝΙΔΟΥ

Μυρωνίδης παρήγγειλεν ἔξοδον Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύων· ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν λεγόντων μηδέπω πάντας παρεῖναι,
186 "πάρεισιν," εἶπεν, "οἱ μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι". καὶ χρησάμενος αὐτοῖς προθύμοις ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους.

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ

1. Ἀριστείδης δὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἀεὶ καθ' αὑτὸν ἐπολιτεύετο καὶ τὰς ἑταιρείας ἔφευγεν, ὡς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δυνάμεως ἀδικεῖν ἐπαιρούσης.

2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁρμωμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἄνθρωπος ἀγράμματος καὶ ἄγροικος ὄστρακον ἔχων προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ κελεύων ἐγγράψαι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀριστείδου, "γιγνώσκεις
B γάρ," ἔφη, "τὸν Ἀριστείδην;" τοῦ δὲ ἀνδρώπου

[1] ἔντευξιν] ἔνδειξεν some MSS.

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[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxix. (126 c); Thucydides, i. 137. [b] *Cf. ibid.* i. 138.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 328 F and 602 A; Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxix. (p. 126 F); Polybius, xxxix. 11 (=xl. 5).

[d] Noted Athenian general in the fifth century B.C.

[e] At Oenophyta in Boeotia, 457 (?) B.C. (Thucydides,

it conceals and spoils them. (16) He asked for time so that, when he should have learned the Persian tongue, he might conduct his interview through his own self and not through another.[a]

17. Being held deserving of many gifts, and speedily becoming rich,[b] he said to his sons, "Boys, we should be ruined now if we had not been ruined before!"[c]

MYRONIDES[d]

Myronides, conducting a campaign against the Boeotians, gave orders to the Athenians for an invasion of the enemy's territory. When the hour was near, and the captains said that not all were present as yet, he said, "All are present that intend to fight." And, leading them into battle before their ardour had cooled, he won a victory over the enemy.[e]

ARISTEIDES[f]

1. Aristeides the Just was always an independent in politics, and avoided political parties, on the ground that influence derived from friends encourages wrongdoing.[g]

2. At one time when the Athenians had impetuously determined to vote on ostracism, an ignorant country fellow, holding his potsherd, approached him and bade him write on it the name of Aristeides. "Why," said he, "do you know Aristeides?" And

i. 108). *Cf.* also *Moralia*, 345 D; Diodorus, xi. 31. A similar remark is attributed to Leonidas by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 225 D, and to Timotheus by Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 10. 3.

[f] Athenian statesman, sixth and fifth centuries B.C.

[g] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. ii. (319 F).

(186) γιγνώσκειν μὲν οὐ φήσαντος, ἄχθεσθαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ δικαίου προσηγορίᾳ, σιωπήσας ἐνέγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀπέδωκεν.

3. Ἐχθρὸς δὲ ὢν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ πρεσβευτὴς ἐκπεμφθεὶς σὺν αὐτῷ, "βούλει," φησίν, "ὦ Θεμιστόκλεις ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τὴν ἔχθραν ἀπολίπωμεν; ἂν γὰρ δοκῇ, πάλιν αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ληψόμεθα."

4. Τάξας δὲ τοὺς φόρους τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοσούτῳ πτωχότερος ἐπανῆλθεν ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀνήλωσεν.

5. Αἰσχύλου δὲ ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάραον,

οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος[1] ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
C ἐξ[2] ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα·

καὶ λεγομένων τούτων, πάντες εἰς Ἀριστείδην ἀπέβλεψαν.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ

1. Περικλῆς, ὁπότε μέλλοι στρατηγεῖν, ἀναλαμβάνων τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγε, "πρόσεχε,

[1] ἄριστος] δίκαιος, *Life of Aristeides*, chap. iii.
[2] ἐξ] ἀφ' in some MSS.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. vii (323 A); Cornelius Nepos, *Aristeides*, i. 3.

[b] Herodotus, viii. 79; Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. viii. (323 C).

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 809 B; Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 31; and the following (from a newspaper in 1929): "Paying a tribute to Senator Robinson, the Democratic member of the conference delegation, Senator Reed said; 'I can say for him that when his ship sails from New York he quits being a Democrat, just as I quit becoming a Republican, leaving politics behind us at the American shore.'"

when the man said that he did not know him, but was irritated at his being called 'the Just,' Aristeides said never a word more, but wrote the name on the potsherd, and gave it back to him.[a]

3. He was hostile to Themistocles,[b] and once, when he was sent as ambassador in his company, he said, "Are you willing, Themistocles, that we should leave our hostility behind us at the boundaries? And then, if it be agreeable, we will take it up again on our return."[c]

4. When he had fixed the contributions that the Greeks were to pay, he returned poorer by exactly as much as he spent on his journey.[d]

5. Aeschylus[e] wrote referring to Amphiaraus,

> His wish is not to seem, but be, the best,[f]
> Reaping the deep-sown furrow of his mind
> In which all goodly counsels have their root.

And as these words were spoken all looked towards Aristeides.

PERICLES[g]

1. Whenever Pericles was about to take command of the army, as he was donning his general's cloak, he used to say to himself, "Take care, Pericles; you

[a] In 478–477 B.C. Aristeides, because of his reputation for fairness, was chosen to determine the initial contribution which each member of the confederacy of Delos should make to the common cause. *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xxiv. (333 c); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[b] Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 592; Plutarch quotes the lines also in whole or in part in *Moralia*, 32 D, 88 B, and *Life of Aristeides*, chap. iii. (320 B).

[c] On account of the reading δίκαιος in the *Life of Aristeides* it has been thought that the actor who spoke the words may have substituted "the Just" for "the best" when he saw Aristeides in the audience.

[d] Athenian general and statesman, fifth century B.C.

(186) Περίκλεις, ἐλευθέρων μέλλεις ἄρχειν, καὶ Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ἀθηναίων."

2. Ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν Αἴγιναν ὥσπερ λήμην ἀφαιρεῖν τοῦ Πειραιῶς.

3. Πρὸς δὲ φίλον τινὰ ψευδοῦς μαρτυρίας δεόμενον, ᾗ προσῆν καὶ ὅρκος, ἔφησε μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλος εἶναι.

D 4. Μέλλων δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐμακάριζεν ὅτι μηδεὶς Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἱμάτιον δι' αὐτὸν ἐνεδύσατο.

ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΟΥ

1. Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔτι παῖς ὢν ἐλήφθη λαβὴν ἐν παλαίστρᾳ· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος διαφυγεῖν ἔδακε τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ καταπαλαίοντος· εἰπόντος δὲ ἐκείνου, "δάκνεις ὡς αἱ γυναῖκες," "οὐ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ὡς οἱ λέοντες."

2. Ἔχων δὲ κύνα πάγκαλον ἐωνημένον[1] ἑπτακισχιλίων δραχμῶν, ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐράν "ὅπως," ἔφη, "τοῦτο λέγωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ ἐμοῦ, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πολυπραγμονῶσι."

E 3. Προσελθὼν δὲ διδασκαλείῳ ῥαψῳδίαν Ἰλιά-

[1] ἐωνημένον] ἐωνημένος Hartman, possible but not imperative.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 620 c and 813 D.

[b] *Ibid.* 803 A; Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, chap. viii. (156 D) and *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. i. (846 c): Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 10. Athenaeus (99 D) attributes the expression to Demades, an Athenian orator. The people of Aegina, who were Dorian, had been hostile towards the Athenians

are about to command free-born men who are both Greeks and Athenians." [a]

2. He bade the Athenians remove Aegina, " that sore on the eye of the Piraeus." [b]

3. To a friend who wanted him to bear false witness, which included also an oath, he answered that he was a friend as far as the altar.[c]

4. On his death-bed he accounted himself happy in that no Athenian, because of him, had ever put on a black garment.[d]

ALCIBIADES [e]

1. Alcibiades, while still a boy, was caught in a fast hold in a wrestling-school, and, not being able to get away, he bit the arm of the boy who had him down. The other boy said, " You bite like a woman." " No indeed," said Alcibiades, " but like a lion." [f]

2. He owned a very beautiful dog, for which he had paid two hundred and seventy-five pounds, and he cut off its tail, " so that," as he said, " the Athenians may tell this about me, and may not concern themselves too much with anything else." [g]

3. Coming upon a schoolroom, he asked for a book of the *Iliad*, and when the teacher said that

even before the Persian wars, and in the early years of the Peloponnesian war (431 B.C.) they were forcibly removed from the island by the Athenians.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 531 c and 808 A, and Aulus Gellius, i. 3.

[d] Given with more details in *Moralia*, 543 c, and Plutarch's *Life of Pericles*, chap. xxxviii. (173 c), and Julian, *Oration* iii. 128 D.

[e] Rich and erratic ward of Pericles.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. i. (192 c). The same story is told of a Spartan in *Moralia*, 234 E.

[g] In quite different words in Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. ix. (195 D).

(186) δος ᾖτει· τοῦ δὲ διδασκάλου μηδὲν ἔχειν Ὁμήρου φήσαντος, ἐντρίψας αὐτῷ κόνδυλον παρῆλθεν.

4. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ θύρας τοῦ Περικλέους καὶ πυθόμενος αὐτὸν μὴ σχολάζειν ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἀποδώσει λόγους Ἀθηναίοις, "οὐ βέλτιον," ἔφη, "σκοπεῖν ἦν, ὅπως οὐκ[1] ἀποδώσει;"

5. Καλούμενος δὲ ἐπὶ κρίσιν θανατικὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτόν, εἰπὼν εὔηθες[2] εἶναι τὸν δίκην ἔχοντα ζητεῖν ἀποφυγεῖν, ἐξὸν φυγεῖν.

6. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος, "οὐ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι
F τὴν περὶ σεαυτοῦ κρίσιν;" "ἐγὼ μέν," ἔφη, "οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί, μή πως ἀγνοήσασα τὴν μέλαιναν βάλῃ ψῆφον ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς."

7. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὅτι θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατέγνωσται καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, "δείξωμεν οὖν αὐτοῖς," εἶπεν, "ὅτι ζῶμεν"· καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τρεψάμενος τὸν Δεκελεικὸν ἤγειρεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον.

ΛΑΜΑΧΟΥ

Λάμαχος ἐπετίμα τινὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν ἁμαρτόντι· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος μηκέτι τοῦτο ποιήσειν, "οὐκ ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "ἐν πολέμῳ δὶς ἁμαρτεῖν."

[1] οὐκ Cobet: μὴ οὐκ.
[2] εὔηθες Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 38: εὐήθη.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch s *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. vii. (194 D), and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 38.

he had nothing of Homer's, Alcibiades hit him a blow with his fist and passed on.[a]

4. He came to Pericles' door, and upon learning that Pericles was not at liberty, but was considering how to render his accounting to the Athenians, he said, "Were it not better that he should consider how not to render it?"[b]

5. Summoned from Sicily by the Athenians to be tried for his life, he went into hiding, saying that it is silly for a man under indictment to seek a way to get off when he can get away.[c]

6. When somebody said, "Don't you trust your fatherland to decide about you?" he replied, "Not I; nor would I trust even my mother, lest in a moment of thoughtlessness she unwittingly cast a black ballot instead of a white one."[d]

7. Hearing that sentence of death had been passed upon him and his companions, he said, "Let us show them, then, that we are alive," and turning to the Spartan side he started the Decelean war against the Athenians.[e]

LAMACHUS[f]

Lamachus reprimanded one of his captains who had made a mistake, and when the man vowed he would never do it again, Lamachus said, "In war there is no room for two mistakes."

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. vii. (194 E); Diodorus, xii. 38; Valerius Maximus, iii. 1, ext. 1.

[c] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxi. (202 C); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 38.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxii. (202 D) and Aelian, xiii. 38.

[e] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxii. (202 D) and Aelian, xiii. 38; *cf.* also Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 40. 6.

[f] Brave Athenian general, fifth century B.C.

ΙΦΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

1. Ἰφικράτης, δοκῶν υἱὸς εἶναι σκυτοτόμου,
187 κατεφρονεῖτο· δόξαν δὲ τότε πρῶτον ἔσχεν ὅτε τραυματίας[1] πολέμιον ἄνδρα μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ζῶντα συναρπάσας εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη μετήνεγκεν.

2. Ἐν δὲ φιλίᾳ καὶ συμμάχῳ χώρᾳ στρατοπεδεύων καὶ χάρακα βαλλόμενος καὶ τάφρον ὀρύττων ἐπιμελῶς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα "τί γὰρ φοβούμεθα;" χειρίστην ἔφησε στρατηγοῦ φωνὴν εἶναι τὴν "οὐκ ἂν προσεδόκησα."

3. Παραταττόμενος δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔφη δεδιέναι μὴ τὸν Ἰφικράτην οὐκ ἴσασιν, ᾧ καταπλήττεται τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους.

4. Κρινόμενος δὲ θανάτου, πρὸς τὸν συκοφάν-
B την, "οἷα ποιεῖς, ὦ ἄνθρωπε," εἶπε, "πολέμου περιεστῶτος, τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἐμοῦ πείθων βουλεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ μετ' ἐμοῦ."

5. Πρὸς δὲ Ἁρμόδιον τὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἁρμοδίου ἀπόγονον, εἰς δυσγένειαν αὐτῷ λοιδορούμενον, ἔφη, "τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ γένος ἄρχεται, τὸ δὲ σὸν ἐν σοὶ παύεται."

6. Ῥήτορος δέ τινος ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, "τίς ὢν μέγα φρονεῖς; πότερον ἱππεὺς

[1] *τραυματίας*] *ναυμαχίας οὔσης* or *ἐν ναυμαχίᾳ* is suggested by Bernardakis, but *ναυμαχῶν*, from Ulpian on Demosthen. *Contra Midiam*, would be simpler. Some MSS. have *τραυματίαν* and one *τρασμένος* (*i.e.* *τετραυματισμένος* = *τραυματίας*).

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[a] Famous Athenian general, early part fourth century B.C. A collection of his deeds and sayings may be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 9.

IPHICRATES[a]

1. Iphicrates, who was reputed to be the son of a shoemaker, was looked down upon. The first occasion on which he won repute was when, wounded himself, he picked up one of the enemy alive, armour and all, and bore him to his own trireme.

2. Encamping in a friendly and allied country, he threw up a palisade and dug a ditch with all care, and to the man who said, "What have we to fear?" he replied that the worst words a general could utter were the familiar "I never should have thought it."[b]

3. As he was disposing his army for battle against the barbarians he said he feared that they did not know the name of Iphicrates with which he was wont to strike terror to the hearts of his other foes.[c]

4. When he was put on trial for his life[d] he said to the informer, "What are you trying to do, fellow? At a time when war is all around us, you are persuading the State to deliberate about me instead of with me."

5. In reply to Harmodius, descendant of the Harmodius of early days, who twitted him about his lowly birth, he said, "My family history begins with me, but yours ends with you."[e]

6. A certain speaker interrogated him in the Assembly: "Who are you that you are so proud? Are you cavalryman or man-at-arms or archer or

[b] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 9. 17. The saying is attributed to Scipio Africanus by Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, and to Fabius by Seneca, *De ira*, ii. 31. 4. Cicero, *De officiis*, i. 23 (81) states it as a general maxim.

[c] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, iii. 9. 25.

[d] Together with Timotheus, for thinking it best not to fight at the Hellespont in 356 B.C. (Diodorus, xvi. 21).

[e] *Cf. De nobilitate*, 21, in *Moralia*, vol. vii. p. 272 of Bernardakis's edition.

(187) ἢ ὁπλίτης[1] ἢ τοξότης ἢ πελταστής[2];" "οὐδείς," ἔφη, "τούτων, ἀλλ' ὁ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπιστάμενος ἐπιτάττειν."

ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ

1. Τιμόθεος εὐτυχὴς ἐνομίζετο στρατηγὸς εἶναι καὶ φθονοῦντες αὐτῷ τινες ἐζωγράφουν τὰς πόλεις
C εἰς κύρτον αὐτομάτως ἐκείνου καθεύδοντος ἐνδυομένας· ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Τιμόθεος, "εἰ τηλικαύτας πόλεις λαμβάνω καθεύδων, τί με οἴεσθε ποιήσειν ἐγρηγορότα;"

2. Τῶν δὲ τολμηρῶν στρατηγῶν τινος τραῦμα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δεικνύντος, "ἐγὼ δέ," εἶπεν, "ᾐσχύνθην ὅτι μου στρατηγοῦντος ὑμῶν ἐν Σάμῳ καταπελτικὸν βέλος ἐγγὺς ἔπεσε."

3. Τῶν δὲ ῥητόρων τὸν Χάρητα προαγόντων καὶ τοιοῦτον ἀξιούντων εἶναι τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν, "οὐ τὸν στρατηγόν," εἶπεν ὁ Τιμόθεος, "ἀλλὰ τὸν τῷ στρατηγῷ τὰ στρώματα κομίζοντα."

ΧΑΒΡΙΟΥ

D 1. Χαβρίας ἔλεγε κάλλιστα στρατηγεῖν τοὺς μάλιστα γινώσκοντας τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

2. Δίκην δὲ φεύγων προδοσίας μετὰ Ἰφικράτους, ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἰφικράτους ὅτι κινδυνεύων εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον βαδίζει καὶ τὴν εἰω-

[1] ἱππεὺς ἢ ὁπλίτης Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 52: ἱππεύς. *Cf. Moralia*, 440 B.

[2] ἢ πελταστής Bernardakis: ἢ πελταστὴς ἢ πεζός or ἢ πεζὸς ἢ πελταστής; but it is not imperative that such readings be always consistent!

[a] The story is found also in *Moralia*, 99 E and 440 B.

[b] Athenian general, colleague of Iphicrates; numerous stories about him are recorded in Polyaenus, *Strat.* iii. 10.

targeteer?" "None of these," he replied, "but the one who understands how to direct all of them."[a]

TIMOTHEUS[b]

1. Timotheus was popularly thought to be a lucky general, and some who were jealous of him painted pictures of cities entering into a trap of their own accord while he was asleep.[c] Whereupon Timotheus said, "If I capture such cities as those while I am asleep, what do you think I shall do when I am awake?"

2. When one[d] of the foolhardy generals was exhibiting to the Athenians a wound he had received, Timotheus said, "But I was ashamed when, at the time I was commanding you in Samos,[e] a missile from a catapult fell near me."

3. When the prominent speakers brought forward Chares, and insisted that the general of the Athenians ought to be a man like him, Timotheus said, "Not the general, but the man who carries the general's bedding!"[f]

CHABRIAS[g]

1. Chabrias used to say that those men commanded an army best who best knew what the enemy were about.

2. When he was under indictment for treason along with Iphicrates,[h] Iphicrates rebuked him because, while he was in jeopardy, he went to the gymnasium,

[c] Of the many repetitions of this story it may suffice to refer to Plutarch's *Life of Sulla*, chap. vi. (454 B); *Moralia*, 856 B; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 43.

[d] Chares, according to Plutarch in his *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. (278 D). [e] In 366 B.C. [f] *Cf. Moralia*, 788 D.

[g] Celebrated Athenian general, early part of fourth cent. B.C.

[h] With Callistratus, rather than Iphicrates, in the year 366 B.C. *Cf.* Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 65.

(187) *θυΐαν ὥραν ἀριστᾷ, " τοιγαροῦν," εἶπεν, " ἂν ἄλλο τι γνῶσι περὶ ἡμῶν Ἀθηναῖοι, σὲ μὲν αὐχμῶντα καὶ ἄσιτον, ἐμὲ δὲ ἠριστηκότα καὶ ἀληλιμμένον ἀποκτενοῦσιν."*

3. Εἰώθει δὲ λέγειν ὅτι φοβερώτερόν ἐστιν ἐλάφων στρατόπεδον ἡγουμένου λέοντος ἢ λεόντων ἐλάφου.

ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΥ

E *Ἡγησίππου τοῦ Κρωβύλου προσαγορευομένου παροξύνοντος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ Φίλιππον, ὑπεφώνησέ τις ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, " πόλεμον εἰσηγῇ;" " ναὶ μὰ Δία," εἶπε, " καὶ μέλανα ἱμάτια καὶ δημοσίας ἐκφορὰς καὶ λόγους ἐπιταφίους, εἰ μέλλομεν ἐλεύθεροι βιώσεσθαι καὶ μὴ ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον Μακεδόσι."*

ΠΥΘΕΟΥ

Πυθέας ἔτι μειράκιον ὢν παρῆλθεν ἀντερῶν τοῖς περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου γραφομένοις ψηφίσμασιν· εἰπόντος δέ τινος, " σὺ νέος ὢν τολμᾷς λέγειν περὶ τηλικούτων;" " καὶ μὴν Ἀλέξανδρος," εἶπεν, " ὃν ψηφίζεσθε θεόν, ἐμοῦ νεώτερός ἐστι."

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[a] Ascribed to Philip by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 61.

[b] Patriotic Athenian orator, fourth century B.C., bitterly opposed to Philip of Macedon.

[c] Because of his affectation in wearing his hair in a knot on the top of his head, in the very old-fashioned manner. Aeschines the orator regularly uses this name in speaking of him. For the " crobylus " see F. Studniczka, in the Appendix to Classen's edition of Thucydides, i. 6. 3.

[d] Unprincipled Athenian orator, opponent of Demosthenes.

and spent the usual time at his luncheon. His answer was, "You may go unwashed and unfed, and I may have had my luncheon and a bath and rub-down, but you may rest assured that, if the Athenians reach any adverse decision regarding us, they will put us both to death."

3. He was wont to say that an army of deer commanded by a lion is more to be feared than an army of lions commanded by a deer.[a]

HEGESIPPUS[b]

Hegesippus, nicknamed 'Topknot,'[c] in a public address was inciting the Athenians against Philip, when someone in the Assembly commented audibly, "You are bringing on war." "Yes, by Heaven, I am," said he, "and black clothes and public funerals and orations over the graves of the dead, if we intend to live as free men, and not to do what is enjoined upon us by the Macedonians."

PYTHEAS[d]

Pytheas, while still young, came forward in the Assembly to oppose the resolutions proposed in honour of Alexander. When someone said, "Have you the audacity, young as you are, to speak about such important matters?" he replied, "As a matter of fact, Alexander, whom your resolutions declare to be a god, is younger than I am."[e]

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 804 B. Similar derisive remarks about the deification of Alexander are attributed to other sharp-tongued Greeks. *Cf.* Diogenes Laertius, vi. 8 and vi. 63; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 19 and v. 12; Valerius Maximus, vii. 2, ext. 13.

ΦΩΚΙΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥ[a]

F 1. Φωκίων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε γελῶν ὤφθη οὔτε δακρύων.

2. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ γενομένης πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "σκεπτομένῳ, ὦ Φωκίων, ἔοικας," "ὀρθῶς," ἔφη, "τοπάζεις· σκέπτομαι γάρ εἴ τι δύναμαι περιελεῖν ὧν μέλλω λέγειν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους."

3. Μαντείας δὲ γενομένης Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς εἷς ἀνὴρ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταῖς πάντων ἐναντιούμενος γνώμαις, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ζητεῖν κελευόντων ὅστις ἐστὶ καὶ βοώντων, Φωκίων ἑαυτὸν ἔφησε τοῦτον εἶναι· μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἀρέσκειν ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσιν.

188 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ λέγων ποτὲ γνώμην πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐδοκίμει καὶ πάντας ὁμαλῶς ἑώρα τὸν λόγον ἀποδεχομένους, ἐπιστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, "οὐ δήπου κακόν τι λέγων ἐμαυτὸν λέληθα;"

5. Πρὸς δὲ θυσίαν τινὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰτούντων ἐπιδόσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδιδόντων, κληθεὶς πολλάκις, "αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν," εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν ἐπιδιδούς, τούτῳ δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδούς," ἅμα δεικνύων τὸν δανειστήν.

6. Δημοσθένους δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰπόντος, "ἀποκτενοῦσί σε Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν μανῶσι," "ναί," εἶπεν, "ἐμὲ μὲν ἂν μανῶσι, σὲ δὲ ἂν σωφρονῶσι."

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[a] Upright Athenian general and statesman, fourth century B.C.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. iv. (743 D).

[c] *Ibid.* chap. v. (744 A).

[d] *Ibid.* chap. viii. (745 C).

[e] *Ibid.* *Cf.* similar remarks of Antisthenes, in Diogenes Laertius, vi. 5 and 8; and of Hippomachus, in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ii. 6.

PHOCION THE ATHENIAN[a]

1. Phocion the Athenian was never seen by anyone to laugh or cry.[b]

2. At a meeting of the Assembly someone said to him, "You seem to be thinking, Phocion." "You guessed right," said he, "for I am thinking whether I can leave out any part of what I am going to say to the Athenians."[c]

3. An oracle was given to the Athenians declaring that there was one man in the city opposed to the opinions of all, whereupon they ordered that search be made to find him, and were very vociferous. But Phocion said that the man was himself, for he was the only one who did not like a single thing of all that the multitude did and said.[d]

4. Once, when he expressed an opinion before the people, he won acclaim, and saw that all alike accepted the view he had expressed, whereupon he turned to his friends and said, "Does it not look as if I had unwittingly said something bad?"[e]

5. When the Athenians were asking for contributions towards a public sacrifice and feast, and all the rest were contributing, he, being importuned to give, said, "I should be ashamed to make a contribution to you and not make restitution to this man," and, as he said this, he pointed to a man who had lent him money.[f]

6. Demosthenes, the orator, said to him, "The Athenians will put you to death if they go mad." "Yes," he replied, "me if they go mad, but you if they keep their senses."[g]

[f] Repeated in *Moralia*, 533 A and 822 E, and in Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. ix. (745 C).

[g] *Ibid.* chap. ix. (745 F). In *Moralia*, 811 A, Demades is substituted for Demosthenes..

B 7. Ἀριστογείτονος δὲ τοῦ συκοφάντου μέλλον-
(188) τος ἀποθνῄσκειν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ κατακρίτου γεγονότος καὶ δεομένου τὸν Φωκίωνα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τῶν δὲ φίλων οὐκ ἐώντων πρὸς ἄνθρωπον πονηρὸν βαδίζειν, "καὶ ποῦ τις ἄν," εἶπεν, "ἥδιον Ἀριστογείτονι λαλήσειεν;"

8. Ὀργιζομένων δὲ τοῖς Βυζαντίοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων μὴ δεξαμένοις[1] τῇ πόλει Χάρητα πεμφθέντα μετὰ δυνάμεως βοηθὸν αὐτοῖς πρὸς Φίλιππον, εἰπὼν ὁ Φωκίων ὅτι δεῖ μὴ τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσι τῶν συμμάχων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπιστουμένοις ὀργίζεσθαι τῶν
C στρατηγῶν αὐτὸς ἠρέθη στρατηγός· καὶ πιστευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποίησε τὸν Φίλιππον ἀπελθεῖν ἄπρακτον.

9. Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑκατὸν τάλαντα δωρεὰν αὐτῷ πέμψαντος, ἠρώτησε τοὺς κομίζοντας τί δήποτε, πολλῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, αὐτῷ μόνῳ ταῦτα δίδωσιν Ἀλέξανδρος· εἰπόντων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς μόνον αὐτὸν ἡγεῖται καλὸν κἀγαθὸν εἶναι, "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "ἐασάτω με καὶ δοκεῖν καὶ εἶναι τοιοῦτον."

10. Αἰτοῦντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τριήρεις, καὶ τοῦ δήμου κελεύοντος ὀνομαστὶ παριέναι τὸν Φωκίωνα καὶ συμβουλεύειν, ἀναστὰς ἔφη, "συμβουλεύω τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἢ κρατεῖν τοῖς ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ἢ φίλους εἶναι τῶν κρατούντων."

D 11. Λόγου δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς

[1] δεξαμένοις, Hartman, is clearly right from the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xiv. (747 F οὐδὲ αἱ πόλεις ἐδέχοντο . . .): δεξαμένων.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. x. (746 E).
[b] *Ibid.* chap. xiv. (748 A); the date was 339 B.C.

7. Aristogeiton, the informer, was about to be put to death in prison, sentence having been passed upon him, and he wanted Phocion to come to him; but Phocion's friends were averse to his going to see such a wicked man. "And where," said he, "could anyone converse with Aristogeiton with greater pleasure?" [a]

8. The Athenians were enraged at the people of Byzantium because they had not received Chares in their city when he had been sent with a force to help them against Philip. But when Phocion said that they must not be enraged at those of their allies who distrusted, but at those of their own generals who were distrusted, he was himself chosen general; and he, being trusted by the people of Byzantium, made Philip withdraw without accomplishing his purpose.[b]

9. When Alexander the king sent him twenty thousand pounds as a present, he asked those who brought the money why it was that, when there were so many Athenians, Alexander offered this to him only. They replied that their king considered him only to be upright and honourable. "Then," said he, "let him suffer me both to seem and to be such." [c]

10. When Alexander made a demand for triremes, and the people called for Phocion by name to come forward and advise them, he arose and said, "Well then, I advise you either to be conquerors yourselves by force of arms, or else to be the friends of the conquerors." [d]

11. When word suddenly came, quite unauthenticated, of the death of Alexander, and the orators

[c] *Ibid.* chap. xviii. (749 E); *cf.* also Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxi. (751 A).

(188) ἐμπεσόντος ἀδεσπότου, καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων ἀναπηδώντων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ μὴ μέλλειν ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν ἤδη κελευόντων, ὁ Φωκίων ἠξίου περιμεῖναι καὶ γνῶναι βεβαίως. "εἰ γὰρ τήμερον," ἔφη, "τέθνηκε, καὶ αὔριον ἔσται καὶ εἰς τρίτην[1] τεθνηκώς."

12. Τοῦ δὲ Λεωσθένους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐμβαλόντος τὴν πόλιν ἐλπίσι λαμπραῖς πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὄνομα καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐπαιρομένην, τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ταῖς κυπαρίττοις ἀπείκαζε· "καλοὶ γὰρ ὄντες" ἔφη "καὶ ὑψηλοὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔχουσι." κατωρθωμένων δὲ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐαγγέλια θυούσης, ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ ταῦτα
E ἤθελεν αὐτῷ[2] πεπρᾶχθαι, "πεπρᾶχθαι μὲν οὖν," ἔφη, "ταῦτα, βεβουλεῦσθαι δὲ ἐκεῖνα."

13. Τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ τῶν Μακεδόνων προσβαλόντων καὶ πορθούντων τὴν παραλίαν, ἐξήγαγε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ· πολλῶν δὲ συντρεχόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρεγκελευομένων ἐκεῖνον τὸν λόφον καταλαβεῖν, ἐνταῦθα τάξαι τὴν δύναμιν, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν, "ὡς πολλοὺς ὁρῶ στρατηγούς, στρατιώτας δὲ ὀλίγους." οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμβαλὼν ἐκράτησε καὶ διέφθειρε Μικίωνα[3] τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν Μακεδόνων.

14. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ
F πολέμῳ κρατηθέντες ἐδέξαντο φρουρὰν ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου· Μενύλλου δὲ τοῦ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἄρχοντος χρήματα τῷ Φωκίωνι διδόντος, ἀγανακτήσας εἶπε

[1] *εἰς τρίτην* Wyttenbach from the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxii.: *εἰσέτι*.
[2] *αὐτῷ* F.C.B. from the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxiii.; *αὐτῷ* Wyttenbach: *οὕτω*.
[3] *Μικίωνα*] the *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxv.: *Νικίωνα*.

immediately leaped to the platform, already urgent that there be no delay, but war at once, Phocion insisted that they wait a while, and learn the facts. "For," said he, "if Alexander is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow also, and the day after."[a]

12. When Leosthenes plunged the State into war, elated as it was by brilliant hopes to aspire to the distinction of freedom and leadership, Phocion likened his words to the cypress-trees. "For," said he, "they are beautiful and tall, but they bear no fruit." However, the first attempts were successful, and, when the State was offering sacrifices to celebrate the good tidings, Phocion was asked whether he wished that these deeds had been done by himself. "Yes," said he, "these deeds done, but that advice given."[b]

13. When the Macedonians invaded Attica,[c] and were devastating the land near the sea, he led out the men of military age. Soon many were thronging about him and strongly urging him to "take possession of that hill over there," to "draw up his forces here." "Great Heavens," he said, "how many generals do I see and how few soldiers!" Nevertheless, he engaged the enemy, and overcame them, and slew Micion the Macedonian commander.[d]

14. After a little time the Athenians were overcome in the war, and compelled by Antipater to submit to receiving a garrison. Menyllus, the commander of the garrison, offered money to Phocion, who said with indignation that Menyllus was no whit

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxii. (751 E), also *Moralia*, 451 F.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxiii. (752 A B); Valerius Maximus, iii. 8, ext. 2.

[c] In the Lamian war, 322 B.C.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxv. (752 E).

μήτε ἐκεῖνον Ἀλεξάνδρου βελτίονα εἶναι, καὶ χείρονα τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφ' ᾗ λήψεται νῦν τότε μὴ δεξάμενος.

15. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ ἔφη, ὡς δυοῖν αὐτῷ φίλων Ἀθήνησιν ὄντων οὔτε Φωκίωνα λαβεῖν πέπεικεν οὔτε Δημάδην διδοὺς ἐμπέπληκεν.

16. Ἀξιοῦντος δὲ Ἀντιπάτρου ποιῆσαί τι τῶν μὴ δικαίων αὐτόν, "οὐ δύνασαι," εἶπεν, "Ἀντίπατρε, καὶ φίλῳ Φωκίωνι χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι."

189 17. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτὴν δημοκρατίας Ἀθηναίοις γενομένης κατεγνώσθη θάνατος τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ τῶν φίλων· οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι κλαίοντες ἤγοντο· τῷ δὲ Φωκίωνι σιωπῇ βαδίζοντι τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις ἐνέπτυσεν ἀπαντήσας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποβλέψας, "οὐ παύσει τις," εἶπε, "τοῦτον ἀσχημονοῦντα;"

18. Τῶν δὲ μελλόντων συναποθνήσκειν ἑνὸς ὀδυρομένου καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος, "οὐκ ἀγαπᾷς," εἶπεν, "ὦ Θούδιππε, μετὰ Φωκίωνος ἀποθανούμενος;"

19. Ἤδη δὲ τῆς κύλικος αὐτῷ προσφερομένης, ἐρωτηθεὶς εἴ τι λέγει πρὸς τὸν υἱόν, "ἔγωγε,[1]"
B εἶπεν, "ἐντέλλομαι καὶ παρακαλῶ μηδὲν Ἀθηναίοις μνησικακεῖν."

[1] ἔγωγε E. Kurtz: ἐγώ σοι, suggested long ago, is preferred by Hatzidakis: ἐγώ σε. Perhaps αὐτῷ, Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 49 (*i.e.* αὐτῷ γε) is right.

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxviii. (754 A), and chap. xxx. (755 A).

[b] *Ibid.* chap. xxx. (p. 755 B).

better than Alexander, and the ground for his receiving money was not so good as before, since he had not accepted it then.[a]

15. Antipater said that he had two good friends at Athens; and of the two he had never persuaded Phocion to accept a gift, nor ever sated Demades by giving.[b]

16. When Antipater required as his right that Phocion do a certain act of unrighteousness, he said, "Antipater, you cannot use Phocion as a friend and flatterer both." [c]

17. The death of Antipater was followed by a democratic government at Athens, and sentence of death was passed in Assembly on Phocion and his friends. The others were led away weeping, but Phocion was proceeding in silence when one of his enemies met him and spat in his face. He looked toward the officers and said, "Will not somebody make this man stop his bad manners?" [d]

18. When one of the men who were to die with him wept and cursed, he said, "Are you not content, Thudippus, that you are to die with Phocion?" [e]

19. When the cup of hemlock was already being handed to him, he was asked if he had any message for his son. "I charge and exhort him," said he, "not to cherish any ill feeling against the Athenians." [f]

[c] Repeated by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 64 C, 142 B, 533 A; *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxx. (755 B); *Life of Agis*, chap. ii. (795 E).

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxxvi. (758 D).

[e] *Ibid.*; *cf. Moralia*, 541 C, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 41.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxxvi. (758 D); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 49.

(189) ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

1. Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τύραννος,[a] ἐπεὶ τῶν φίλων τινὲς ἀποστάντες αὐτοῦ Φυλὴν κατέλαβον, ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρωματόδεσμον αὐτὸς κομίζων. πυνθανομένων δὲ ἐκείνων τί βούλεται, "πείσας ὑμᾶς," εἶπεν, "ἀπαγαγεῖν ἢ μὴ πείσας μένειν μεθ' ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο ἀφῖγμαι συνεσκευασμένος."

2. Διαβληθείσης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐρᾷ τινος νεανίσκου καὶ κρύφα σύνεστι φοβουμένῳ καὶ παραιτουμένῳ τὰ πολλά, καλέσας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τὸν νεανίσκον ἠρώτησε δειπνήσαντα, "πῶς γέγονεν;" "ἡδέως," δὲ φήσαντος, "ταῦτά σοι,"
C ἔφη, "καθ' ἡμέραν ἔσται, ἐὰν τῇ μητρί μου ἀρέσκῃς."

3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θρασύβουλος ἐρῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐφίλησεν ἀπαντήσας, παροξυνόμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, "ἂν τοὺς φιλοῦντας," εἶπε, "μισῶμεν, τί ποιήσομεν τοὺς μισοῦντας;" καὶ ἔδωκε γυναῖκα τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ τὴν παρθένον.

4. Κωμαστῶν δέ τινων περιτυχόντων αὐτοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ πολλὰ πραξάντων ἀσελγῆ καὶ εἰπόντων, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου δεομένων καὶ δακρυόντων, "ὑμεῖς μέν," ἔφη, "πειρᾶσθε σωφρονεῖν τὸ λοιπόν· ἡ δ' ἐμὴ γυνὴ τὸ παράπαν ἐχθὲς οὐδαμῇ προῆλθε."

D 5. Τῶν δὲ παίδων, αὐτοῦ γαμεῖν ἑτέραν γυναῖκα μέλλοντος, διαπυνθανομένων μή τι μεμφόμενος αὐτοὺς εἴη, "ἥκιστα," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἐπαινῶν

[a] Ruler of Athens, at times between 560 and 528 B.C.

[b] *Cf.* Valerius Maximus, v. 1, ext. 2. Plutarch also refers to the incident in *Moralia*, 457 F.

PEISISTRATUS [a]

1. Peisistratus, the despot of the Athenians, on a time when some of his friends had revolted and taken possession of Phyle, came to them carrying a bundle of bedding. When they asked what he meant by this, he said, "To persuade you and get you away from here, or, if I cannot persuade you, to stay with you; that is why I have come prepared."

2. It was whispered to him regarding his mother that she was in love with a certain young man, and had secret meetings with him, but that the young man was afraid and generally asked to be excused. Whereupon Peisistratus invited him to dinner, and after he had dined asked him, "How was it?" And when the young man said, "Very pleasant," Peisistratus said, "You shall have this pleasure every day if you are agreeable to my mother."

3. When Thrasybulus, who was in love with the daughter of Peisistratus, kissed her one day on meeting her, Peisistratus, when incited by his wife against the man, said, "If we hate them that love us, what shall we do to them that hate us?" And thereupon he gave the maiden as wife to Thrasybulus.[b]

4. Some revellers fell in with his wife, and did and said a good many ribald things. The next day when they besought Peisistratus with many tears, he said, "As for you, do you try to conduct yourselves in a seemly manner hereafter, but as for my wife, she did not go out at all yesterday." [c]

5. When he was bent on marrying a second wife, his children inquired whether he had any fault to find with them. "By no means," he said, "but only

[c] Musonius in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xix. 16, records a similar action on the part of Phocion.

(189) καὶ βουλόμενος ἑτέρους μοι παῖδας τοιούτους γενέσθαι."

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΛΗΡΕΩΣ

Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρήνει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν· "ἃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαρροῦσι παραινεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται."

E ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΥ

1. Λυκοῦργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἴθισε τοὺς πολίτας κομᾶν λέγων ὅτι τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς ἡ κόμη εὐπρεπεστέρους ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν κελεύοντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει δημοκρατίαν "σὺ πρῶτος," εἶπεν. "ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου ποίησον δημοκρατίαν."

3. Ἐκέλευε δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ποιεῖν ἀπὸ πρίονος καὶ πελέκεως μόνον· αἰσχύνεσθαι[1] γὰρ εἰς οἰκίας λιτὰς ἐκπώματα καὶ στρώματα καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς εἰσφέροντας.

4. Πυγμὴν δὲ καὶ παγκράτιον ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἐκώλυσεν, ἵνα μηδὲ παίζοντες ἀπαυδᾶν ἐθίζωνται.

[1] αἰσχύνεσθαι] αἰσχυνεῖσθαι Hartman and S. A. Naber; but the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. suggests that the present is right.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 480 D. Plutarch in his *Life of Cato Major*, chap. xxiv. (351 B), says that Cato as well as Peisistratus made his remark.

[b] Governor of Athens under the Macedonians, 317–307 B.C.

[c] Early lawgiver of the Spartans.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 228 F, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*,

praise—and the desire to have other children like you." [a]

DEMETRIUS OF PHALERUM [b]

Demetrius of Phalerum recommended to Ptolemy the king to buy and read the books dealing with the office of king and ruler. "For," as he said, "those things which the kings' friends are not bold enough to recommend to them are written in the books."

LYCURGUS [c]

1. Lycurgus, the Spartan, introduced the custom among his citizens of wearing their hair long, saying that it made the beautiful more comely and the ugly more frightful.[d]

2. To the man who urged him to create a democracy in the State his answer was, "Do you first create a democracy in your own house." [e]

3. He ordered that the people build their houses with saw and axe only; for he knew that men are ashamed to bring into simple houses costly vessels, rugs, and tables.[f]

4. He prohibited boxing and prize-fighting so that the people might not even in sport get the habit of crying off.[g]

chap. xxii. (53 D) and *Life of Lysander*, chap. i. (434 A). The Spartan custom of wearing the hair long is often referred to; for example, *Moralia*, 189 F and 230 B, *infra*, Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, xi. 3.

[e] Repeated in *Moralia*, 155 D, 228 D, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (52 A).

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 227 B, *infra*, and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 B).

[g] See *Moralia*, 228 D, *infra*, and *cf. Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (52 A), and Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, v. 3.

F 5. Στρατεύειν δὲ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκώλυσεν, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶσι μαχιμωτέρους. ὕστερον γοῦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τρωθέντος, ὁ Ἀνταλκίδας εἶπεν καλὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν ἐθίσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα πολεμεῖν ἄκοντας.

ΧΑΡΙΛΛΟΥ

1. Χάριλλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί νόμους ὀλίγους οὕτω Λυκοῦργος ἔθηκεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τοὺς χρωμένους ὀλίγοις λόγοις μὴ δεῖσθαι νόμων πολλῶν.

2. Τῶν δὲ εἰλώτων τινὸς θρασύτερον αὐτῷ προσφερομένου, "ναὶ[1] τὼ σιώ," εἶπε, "κατέκτανον ἄν τυ, αἰ[2] μὴ ὠργιζόμαν."

3. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν πυθόμενον διὰ τί κομῶσιν εἶπεν ὅτι τῶν κόσμων ἀδαπανώτατος οὗτός ἐστι.

ΤΗΛΕΚΛΟΥ

190 Τήλεκλος ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα τοῖς πολίταις ὡς ἀγνωμονέστερον αὐτῷ προσφερομένοις ἢ ἐκείνῳ, "σὺ γάρ," εἶπεν, "οὐκ οἶδας ἀδικεῖσθαι."

[1] ναὶ Cobet: νὴ.
[2] ἄν τυ, αἰ Cobet: τεῦ εἰ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 213 F, 217 E, 227 C, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 D); *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xv. (285 D); *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxvi. (610 D); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, i. 16. 2.

[b] An early king of Sparta.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 232 B, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 D).

5. He prohibited making war upon the same people many times, so that they should not make their opponents too belligerent. And it is a fact that years later, when Agesilaus was wounded, Antalcidas said of him that he was getting a beautiful return from the Thebans for the lessons he had taught them in habituating and teaching them to make war against their will.[a]

CHARILLUS[b]

1. Charillus the king, being asked why Lycurgus enacted so few laws, replied that people who used few words had no need of many laws.[c]

2. When one of the helots conducted himself rather boldly towards him, he said, "By Heaven, I would kill you if I were not angry."[d]

3. In answer to the man who inquired why he and the rest wore their hair long, he said that of all ornaments this was the least expensive.[e]

TELECLUS[f]

Teleclus the king answered his brother, who complained against the citizens because they conducted themselves with less consideration towards him than towards the king, by saying, "The reason is that you do not know how to submit to injustice."[g]

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 232 D, *infra*.

[c] Attributed to Nicander, *Moralia*, 230 B, and to Agesilaus by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxv. 10.

[f] King of Sparta, eighth century B.C.

[g] Repeated in *Moralia*, 232 B, *infra*; *cf.* also the similar remark of Chilon reported in Diogenes Laertius, i. 68, and the general statement in Menander's *Farmer*, Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 29, Menander no. 95; or Allinson's Menander in L.C.L., p. 338.

(190) ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΥ

Θεόπομπος ἔν τινι πόλει πρὸς τὸν ἐπιδεικνύμενον τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῷ καὶ πυνθανόμενον, εἰ δοκεῖ καλὸν καὶ ὑψηλὸν εἶναι, "οὐ δὴ γυναικῶν;"[1] εἶπεν.

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ

Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἀξιούντων ὁρίσαι τοὺς φόρους αὐτοῖς, εἶπεν, "ὁ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται."

B ΒΡΑΣΙΔΟΥ[2]

1. Βρασίδας ἐν ἰσχάσι συλλαβὼν μῦν καὶ δηχθεὶς ἀφῆκεν· εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας, "οὐδὲν οὕτως," ἔφη, "μικρόν ἐστιν, ὃ μὴ σῴζεται τολμῶν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας."

2. Ἐν δὲ μάχῃ διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἀκοντισθεὶς καὶ τὸ δόρυ τοῦ τραύματος ἐξελκύσας[3] αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν πολέμιον ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ πῶς ἐτρώθη, "προδούσης με τῆς ἀσπίδος," εἶπεν.

3. Ἐπειδὴ συνέβη πεσεῖν αὐτὸν ἐλευθεροῦντα

[1] *οὐ δὴ γυναικῶν* F.C.B. from *Moralia*, 212 E, 215 D, 230 C (*γυναικῶν* also S. A. Naber): *οὐ δεῖ*, or *οὐδ' εἰ, γυναικῶν*.

[2] Probably the genitive of all these Doric names should end in A, but the MSS. do not show any consistency or uniformity which might serve as a guide.

[3] *ἐξελκύσας Moralia* 219 C: *ἑλκύσας*.

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[a] King of Sparta, eighth century B.C.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 221 F. The remark in varied form is attributed to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 212 E; to Agis in *Moralia*, 215 D; and to Panthoidas in *Moralia*, 230 C; and to an unnamed Spartan by Valerius Maximus, iii. 7, ext. 8.

[c] Archidamus II., king of Sparta, 469–427 B.C.

THEOPOMPUS [a]

When Theopompus was in a certain city, a man pointed out the wall to him and inquired if it seemed to him to be beautiful and high, and he replied, " It isn't a dwelling-place for women, is it ? " [b]

ARCHIDAMUS [c]

When the allies said in the Peloponnesian war it was only right that Archidamus set a limit to their contributions, he said, " War does not feed on fixed rations." [d]

BRASIDAS [e]

1. Brasidas caught a mouse among some dry figs, and, getting bitten, let it go. Then, turning to those who were present, he said, " There is nothing so small that it cannot save its life, if it has the courage to defend itself against those who would lay hand on it." [f]

2. In a battle he was wounded by a spear which pierced his shield, and, pulling the weapon out of the wound, with this very spear he slew his foe. Asked how he got his wound, he said, " 'Twas when my shield turned traitor." [g]

3. When it came to pass that he fell while trying

[d] Repeated in *Moralia*, 219 A, and in Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*, chap. ii. (544 B); and *Life of Cleomenes*, chap. xxvii. (817 E). In his *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xvii. (853 E), the saying is put in the mouth of " Crobylus " (*i.e.* Hegisippus the Athenian orator). See the note on *Moralia*, 187 E, *supra*.

[e] Spartan general in the Peloponnesian war.

[f] Repeated in *Moralia*, 79 E and 219 C, and with some variation, 208 F.

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 219 C, *infra*, and 548 B.

(190) τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης Ἕλληνας, οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τῇ μητρὶ προσῆλθον αὐτοῦ, C πρῶτον μὲν ἠρώτησεν εἰ καλῶς ὁ Βρασίδας ἀπέθανεν· ἐγκωμιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λεγόντων ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔσται τοιοῦτος, "ἀγνοεῖτε," εἶπεν, "ὦ ξένοι· Βρασίδας μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἃ δὲ Λακεδαίμων πολλὼς ἔχει τήνω κάρρονας."

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ

1. Ἄγις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔφη τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐρωτᾶν πόσοι εἰσίν, ἀλλὰ ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.

2. Ἐν δὲ Μαντινείᾳ κωλυόμενος διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πλείοσιν οὖσιν, εἶπεν, "ἀνάγκη πολλοῖς μάχεσθαι τὸν ἄρχειν πολλῶν βουλόμενον."

3. Ἐπαινουμένων δὲ τῶν Ἠλείων ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ Ὀλύμπια καλῶς ἄγειν, "τί δέ," εἶπε, "ποιοῦσι θαυμαστόν, εἰ δι' ἐτῶν τεττάρων μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ D χρῶνται τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ;" ἐπιμενόντων δὲ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἔφη, "τί θαυμαστὸν εἰ πράγματι καλῷ καλῶς χρῶνται, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ;"

4. Πρὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπον πονηρὸν ἐρωτῶντα πολλάκις τίς ἄριστος εἴη Σπαρτιατῶν, εἶπεν, "ὁ τὶν[1] ἀνομοιότατος."

5. Ἑτέρου δὲ πυνθανομένου πόσοι εἰσὶν οἱ[2]

[1] τὶν Cobet: τύνη.

[2] οἱ (not in the mss.) is found in the other quotations of the passage.

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[a] Argileonis (*Moralia*, 219 D, 270 C, *infra*).

[b] Repeated in *Moralia*, 219 D and 240 C, and in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. XXV. (55 D).

[c] Son of Archidamus. There were two kings of Sparta

to win independence for the Greeks who were living within the borders of Thrace, and the envoys sent to Sparta approached his mother,[a] her first question was whether Brasidas had died honourably. And when the Thracians spoke of him in the highest terms, and said that there would never be another like him, she said, " Ye ken naught aboot it, being from abraid ; for Brasidas was e'en a guid mon, but Sparta has mony a better mon than him." [b]

AGIS [c]

1. Agis the king said that the Spartans do not ask how many are the enemy, but where are they.[d]

2. At Mantineia, when efforts were made to dissuade him from risking a battle with the enemy who outnumbered his own men, he said, " He who would rule over many must fight with many." [e]

3. When the Eleans were commended for conducting the Olympic games honourably, he said, " What wonderful feat is it if they practise justice on one day in four years ? " And when these same persons were persistent in their commendation, he said, " What wonder if they practise honourably an honourable thing, that is, justice ? " [f]

4. To a base man, who asked him many times who was the best of the Spartans, he replied, " The one most unlike you." [g]

5. When another man inquired about the number

of this name : Agis II., 427–401 B.C., and Agis III., 338–331 B.C., and there is some confusion as to which said which ! *Cf. Moralia*, 215 C ff., *infra*.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 215 D, *infra*. [e] *Ibid.*

[f] *Ibid.* 215 F, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 C).

[g] *Life of Lycurgus* and *Moralia*, 216 C.

(190) Λακεδαιμόνιοι, "ὅσοι," εἶπεν, "ἱκανοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἀπείργειν."

6 Καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἑτέρου πυνθανομένου, "πολλοί σοι," ἔφη, "δόξουσιν εἶναι, ἐὰν αὐτοὺς ἴδῃς μαχομένους."

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ

E 1. Λύσανδρος, Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου πέμψαντος ἱμάτια ταῖς θυγατράσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν πολυτελῶν, οὐκ ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν δεδιέναι μὴ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον αἰσχραὶ φανῶσιν.

2. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ψέγοντας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δι' ἀπάτης τὰ πολλὰ πράττειν ὡς ἀνάξιον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἔλεγεν ὅπου μὴ ἐφικνεῖται ἡ λεοντῆ, προσραπτέον εἶναι τὴν ἀλωπεκῆν.

3. Πρὸς δὲ Ἀργείους δικαιότερα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων λέγειν περὶ τῆς ἀμφισβητουμένης χώρας δοκοῦντας, σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν, "ὁ ταύτης,[1]" ἔφη, "κρατῶν βέλτιστα περὶ γῆς ὅρων διαλέγεται."

4. Τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὁρῶν ὀκνοῦντας προσμάχεσθαι τοῖς τείχεσι τῶν Κορινθίων, ὡς εἶδε λαγὼν ἐξαλλόμενον ἐκ τῆς τάφρου, "τοιούF τους," ἔφη, "φοβεῖσθε πολεμίους, ὧν οἱ λαγοὶ δι' ἀργίαν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγκαθεύδουσιν;"

5. Μεγαρέως δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἐν κοινῷ συλλόγῳ παρ-

[1] ταύτης] ταύτῃ Pantazides.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 215 D; (5) *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 D).

[b] Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 141 D, 229 A, and Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. ii. (434 C). The same story is told of Archidamus in *Moralia*, 218 E.

of the Spartans, he said, "Enough to keep away all bad men." [a]

6. When another asked the same question, he said, "You will think they are many, if you see them fight."

LYSANDER [b]

1. When Dionysius, the despot, sent garments of a very costly kind for Lysander's daughters, Lysander would not accept them, saying that he was afraid that the girls would appear more ugly because of them.[c]

2. To those who found fault with him for accomplishing most things through deception (a procedure which they asserted was unworthy of Heracles) he used to say in reply that where the lion's skin does not reach it must be pieced out with the skin of the fox.[d]

3. When the Argives seemed to make out a better case than the Spartans about the territory in dispute, he drew his sword, and said to them, "He who is master of this talks best about boundaries of land.' [e]

4. Seeing that the Spartans were reluctant to carry on the battle against the walls of the Corinthians, he said, as he saw a hare leap out of the moat, "Are you afraid of such enemies as these, in whose walls hares go to sleep because of the men's inaction?" [f]

5. When a man from Megara used frank speech

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 B; Plutarch's *Life of Lysander*, chap. vii. (437 A), Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, i. p. 30.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 C; *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D).

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 229 D; *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D).

ρησίᾳ χρησαμένου πρὸς αὐτόν, "οἱ λόγοι σου," εἶπε, "πόλεως δέονται."

ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ

1. Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγε τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας ἐλευθέρους μὲν κακοὺς εἶναι, δούλους δὲ ἀγαθούς.

2. Εἰθισμένων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μέγαν προσαγορεύειν, "τί δαι[1] ἐκεῖνος," εἶπεν, "ἐμοῦ μείζων, εἰ μὴ δικαιότερος καὶ σωφρονέστερος;"

3. Περὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐρωτηθεὶς ποτέρα βελτίων, "οὐδὲν ἀνδρείας," ἔφη, "χρῄζομεν, ἐὰν πάντες ὦμεν δίκαιοι."

191 4. Νυκτὸς δὲ μέλλων κατὰ τάχος ἀναζευγνύειν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας καὶ τὸν ἐρώμενον ὁρῶν ἀπολειπόμενον δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ δακρύοντα, "χαλεπόν," εἶπεν, "ἅμα ἐλεεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν."

5. Μενεκράτους δὲ τοῦ ἰατροῦ Διὸς προσαγορευομένου, γράψαντος ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς αὐτόν, "Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς βασιλεῖ Ἀγησιλάῳ χαίρειν," ἀντέγραψεν, "βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίλαος Μενεκράτει ὑγιαίνειν."

[1] δαὶ (*cf. Moralia* 213 c) Hatzidakis: δὲ.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 71 E and 229 C; *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxii. (445 D). A similar remark is attributed to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 212 E.

[b] King of Sparta, 398–360 B.C.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 213 C *infra*. The remark is attributed to Callicratidas, *Moralia*, 222 E, *infra*. *Cf.* also the similar sentiment recorded in Herodotus, iv. 142.

towards him in the general council, he said, "Your words need a country to back them." [a]

AGESILAUS [b]

1. Agesilaus used to say that the inhabitants of Asia Minor were poor freemen, but good slaves.[c]

2. Regarding their custom of calling the king of the Persians the Great King, he said, "In what respect is he greater than I, unless he is more upright and self-restrained?" [d]

3. When he was questioned about bravery and uprightness and asked which was the better, he said, "We have no need of bravery if we are all upright." [e]

4. When he was about to break camp in haste by night to leave the enemy's country, and saw his favourite youth, owing to illness, being left behind all in tears, he said, "It is hard to be merciful and sensible at the same time." [f]

5. Menecrates the physician, who was addressed by the title of 'Zeus,' wrote in a letter to him: "Menecrates Zeus to King Agesilaus, health and happiness." Agesilaus wrote in reply: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, health and sanity!" [g]

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 78 D, 213 C, 545 A; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii. (608 F); also Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 8. 4. A similar remark of Socrates is found in Plato, *Gorgias*, 470 E.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 213 C, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxiii. (608 F).

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 209 F, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii. (603 B).

[g] The story is repeated in *Moralia*, 213 A, and in Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi. (607 E). Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 51, and Athenaeus, 289 B, say that it was Philip of Macedon who thus replied to Menecrates.

(191) 6. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ νικησάντων Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν Κορίνθῳ, πυθόμενος τὸ
B πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν, "φεῦ τᾶς Ἑλλάδος," εἶπεν, "ἃ τοσούτους ὑφ' αὑτᾶς ἀπολώλεκεν, ὅσοις ἀρκεῖ τοὺς βαρβάρους νικῆν ἅπαντας."

7. Χρησμὸν δὲ λαβὼν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ὃν ἤθελεν, εἶτα τῶν ἐφόρων κελευόντων καὶ τὸν Πύθιον ἐρωτῆσαι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγενόμενος ἠρώτησε τὸν θεὸν εἰ ἅπερ τῷ πατρὶ δοκεῖ καὶ αὐτῷ.

8. Παραιτούμενος δέ τινα τῶν φίλων παρὰ τοῦ Καρὸς Ἰδριέως,[1] ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτόν, "Νικίας εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἐμοὶ ἄφες· πάντως δὲ ἄφες."

9. Τοῦ δὲ μιμουμένου τὴν τῆς ἀηδόνος φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι παρακαλούμενος, "αὐτᾶς," εἶπεν, "ἄκουκα πολλάκις."

C 10. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην, πάντας τοὺς τρέσαντας ἀτίμους εἶναι τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος, ὁρῶντες οἱ ἔφοροι τὴν πόλιν ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐβούλοντο τὴν ἀτιμίαν λῦσαι, καὶ νομοθέτην ἀπέδειξαν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον· ὁ δὲ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς νόμους ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον κυρίους εἶναι.

[1] Ἰδριέως Xylander (from *Moralia*, 209 E, and *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii.): ἱκριέως or ἱκαριέως.

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[a] In 394 B.C.

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 211 E, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xvi. (604 F); Cornelius Nepos, *Agesilaus*, 5. 2. The source is probably Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, 7. 4.

[c] Apollo, the son of Zeus.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 208 F, when the oracle at Dodona is mentioned instead of Olympia. It is probable that this story, which was related of Agesipolis by Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 130

6. The Spartans won a victory over the Athenians and their allies at Corinth,[a] and when he learned the number of the enemy's dead he exclaimed, " Alas for Greece which by her ain hands has destroyed so mony men, in number eneuch to conquer all the barbarians ! " [b]

7. He received an oracle from Zeus at Olympia such as he wished, and thereupon the Ephors commanded him to ask the Pythian god [c] about the same matter. So, when he arrived at Delphi, he asked the god if his opinion was the same as his father's. [d]

8. In interceding with Hidrieus of Caria for one of his friends he wrote : " If Nicias has done no wrong, let him go free ; if he has done wrong, let him go as a favour to me ; but let him go anyway." [e]

9. Being urged to hear a man who gave an imitation of the nightingale's voice, he said, " I hae heard the bird itsel' mony a time." [f]

10. After the battle of Leuctra, since the law decrees that all who run away in battle shall lose their citizenship, and the Ephors saw that the State was destitute of men, they, wishing to abrogate this penalty, invested Agesilaus with authority to revise the laws. He came forward into their midst, and ordered that beginning with the morrow all laws should be in full force.[g]

iv. 7. 2, and by Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 23 (MSS. Hegisippus), has been transferred to Agesilaus.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 209 E and 807 F ; and Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xiii. (603 B).

[f] *Cf. Moralia*, 212 F and 213 C, *infra* ; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxi. (607 E) ; and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 E).

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 214 B, *infra* ; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxx. (612 F) ; *Comparison of Agesilaus and Pompey*, chap. ii. (662 E) ; and Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1. 13.

(191) 11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πεμφθεὶς τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σύμμαχος ἐπολιορκεῖτο μετ' αὐτοῦ, πολλαπλασιόνων ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ περιταφρευ-
D όντων τὸ στρατόπεδον, κελεύσαντος ἐπεξιέναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως, οὐκ ἔφη διακωλύσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἴσους αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι βουλομένους. ἔτι δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολιπούσης τῆς τάφρου συνάψαι, κατὰ τοῦτο παρατάξας[1] τὸ διαλεῖπον καὶ πρὸς ἴσους ἴσοις[2] ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκησεν.[3]

12. Ἀποθνήσκων δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἐκέλευσε μηδεμίαν πλαστὰν[4] μηδὲ μιμηλὰν ποιήσασθαι, τὰς εἰκόνας οὕτω προσαγορεύων· "εἰ γάρ τι καλὸν ἔργον πεποίηκα, τοῦτό μου μνημεῖόν ἐστιν[5]· εἰ δὲ μηδέν, οὐδ' οἱ πάντες ἀνδριάντες."

ΑΡΧΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ

E Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου καταπελτικὸν ἰδὼν βέλος τότε πρῶτον ἐκ Σικελίας κομισθὲν ἀνεβόησεν, "ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀπόλωλεν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετά."

ΑΓΙΔΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ

1. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἄγις, Δημάδου λέγοντος ὅτι τὰ Λακωνικὰ ξίφη διὰ μικρότητα καταπίνουσιν οἱ

[1] παρατάξας] παρέταξε Hartman.
[2] ἴσοις E. Kurtz (from *Moralia*, 215 A): ἴσοι.
[3] ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνίκησεν Hatzidakis and F.C.B. (from *Moralia*, 215 A): ἀγωνισάμενοι ἐνίκησαν.
[4] πλαστὰν the reading elsewhere (*cf.* note *b*): πλαθὰν.
[5] ἔστιν] ἔσται Hatzidakis from *Moralia*, 215 A, perhaps rightly.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 214 F, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxix. (618 A); Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 1. 22; Diodorus, xv. 93.

11. He was sent as an ally to the king of the Egyptians, and was shut up in camp, together with the king, besieged by hostile forces which many times outnumbered their own. As the enemy were digging a ditch around the encampment, the king urged a sally and a decisive battle, but Agesilaus refused to hinder the enemy in their desire to put themselves on an equal footing with the defending force. When the ends of the ditch almost met, he drew up his men at this gap, and contending with equal numbers against equal numbers won a victory.[a]

12. When he was dying he gave orders that his friends have no 'plaster or paint' used, for this was the way he spoke of statues and portraits. "For," said he, "if I have done any noble deed, that is my memorial; but if none, then not all the statues in the world avail."[b]

ARCHIDAMUS, SON OF AGESILAUS[c]

Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, on seeing the missile shot by a catapult, which had been brought then for the first time from Sicily, cried out, "Great Heavens! Man's valour is no more!"[d]

AGIS THE YOUNGER[e]

1. The Younger Agis, referring to the assertion of Demades that jugglers use the Spartan swords for

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 215 A, *infra*; Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. ii. (596 F); Xenophon, *Agesilaus*, ii. 7; Dio Chrysostom, *Oration* xxxv. (466 M., 127 R.); Cicero, *Letters*, v. 12. 7.

[c] Archidamus III., king of Sparta, 361–338 B.C.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 219 A, *infra*.

[e] Agis III., king of Sparta, 338–331 B.C.

(191) θαυματοποιοί," καὶ μήν," ἔφη, " μάλιστα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐφικνοῦνται."

2. Τῷ δὲ προδότῃ παραδοῦναι στρατιώτας τῶν ἐφόρων κελευόντων, οὐκ ἔφη πιστεύειν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τῷ προδότι τοὺς ἰδίους.

ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ

Κλεομένης πρὸς τὸν ὑπισχνούμενον αὐτῷ δώσειν
F ἀλεκτρυόνας ἀποθνῄσκοντας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι, " μὴ σύ γε," εἶπεν, " ἀλλὰ δός μοι τοὺς κατακτείνοντας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι."

ΠΑΙΔΑΡΗΤΟΥ

Παιδάρητος[1] οὐκ ἐγκριθεὶς εἰς τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει πρωτεύουσα τιμὴ τῇ τάξει, ἱλαρὸς καὶ μειδιῶν ἀπῄει, χαίρειν λέγων εἰ τριακοσίους ἡ πόλις ἔχει πολίτας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίονας.

ΔΑΜΩΝΙΔΟΥ

Δαμωνίδας δὲ ταχθεὶς εἰς τὴν τελευταίαν τοῦ χοροῦ τάξιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸν χορὸν ἱστάντος, " εὖγε," εἶπεν, " ἐξεῦρες πῶς καὶ αὕτη[2] ἔντιμος γένηται."

[1] Παιδάρητος in *Moralia*, 231 B, and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv. The MSS. of Thucydides viii. give Πεδάριτος: *παιδάρετος*.

[2] *αὕτη* F.C.B. from *Moralia*, 149 A, where the MSS. have a similar error: *αὐτός*, probably due to *ἔντιμος*: *οὗτος* Pantazides, *ὁ τόπος* Bernardakis would add.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 216 C, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xix. (51 E).

[b] Attributed to Agis II. in *Moralia*, 215 C.

[c] Cleomenes II., king of Sparta, 370–309 B.C.

swallowing because of their small size, said, " But it is a fact that the Spartans, above all men, reach their enemies with their swords." [a]

2. When the Ephors ordered him to turn over soldiers to a traitor to lead, he said that he did not entrust another's men to the man that betrayed his own.[b]

CLEOMENES [c]

Somebody promised to give to Cleomenes cocks that would die fighting, but he retorted, " No, don't, but give me those that kill fighting." [d]

PAEDARETUS [e]

When Paedaretus was not chosen to be one of the three hundred,[f] an honour which ranked highest in the State, he departed, cheerful and smiling, with the remark that he was glad if the State possessed three hundred citizens better than himself.[g]

DAMONIDAS

When Damonidas was assigned to the last place in the chorus by the director, he said, " Good ! You have discovered a way by which even this place may come to be held in honour." [h]

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 224 B, *infra*, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 E).

[c] Spartan general at the time of the Peloponnesian war ; also spelled Paedaritus (and Pedaritus ?).

[f] *Cf.* Herodotus, vii. 205, and viii. 124; Thucydides, v. 72; Xenophon, *Constitution of Sparta*, 4. 3.

[g] *Cf. Moralia*, 231 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxv. (55 c).

[h] *Cf. Moralia*, 149 A and 219 E. A similar remark is attributed to Agesilaus in *Moralia*, 208 D, and the idea is also accredited to Aristippus by Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73.

ΝΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ

192 Νικόστρατος ὁ τῶν Ἀργείων στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ἀρχιδάμου χωρίον τι προδοῦναι παρακαλούμενος ἐπὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς καὶ γάμῳ Λακαίνης ἣν βούλεται δίχα τῶν βασιλικῶν, ἀπεκρίνατο μὴ εἶναι τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους· τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἡρακλέα περιόντα τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζειν, Ἀρχίδαμον δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς κακοὺς ποιεῖν.

ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΟΥ

1. Εὐδαμίδας[1] ἰδὼν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ[2] Ξενοκράτην πρεσβύτερον ἤδη μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι τὴν ἀρετὴν ζητεῖ, "πότε οὖν," εἶπεν, "αὐτῇ χρήσεται;"

B 2. Πάλιν ἀκούσας φιλοσόφου διαλεχθέντος ὅτι μόνος ἀγαθὸς στρατηγὸς ὁ σοφός ἐστιν, "ὁ μὲν λόγος," ἔφη, "θαυμαστός, ὁ δὲ λέγων οὐ περισεσάλπισται.[3]"

ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ

Ἀντίοχος ἐφορεύων, ὡς ἤκουσεν ὅτι Μεσσηνίοις Φίλιππος τὴν χώραν ἔδωκεν, ἠρώτησεν εἰ καὶ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτοῖς μαχομένοις περὶ τῆς χώρας ἔδωκεν.

ΑΝΤΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ

1. Ἀνταλκίδας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἀμαθεῖς ἀποκαλοῦντα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, "μόνοι γοῦν,"

[1] Εὐδαμίδας Xylander from *Moralia*, 220 D: εὐδαιμονίδας.
[2] Ἀκαδημείᾳ the better spelling: ἀκαδημίᾳ.
[3] περισεσάλπιγκται Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, liv. 65.

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[a] At the time of Archidamus III., 361–338 B.C.
[b] Brother of Agis III., whom he succeeded in 331–330 B.C.

NICOSTRATUS

Nicostratus, the general of the Argives,[a] was urged by Archidamus to betray a certain stronghold, his reward to be a large sum of money and marriage with any Spartan woman he wished, save only the royal family ; but his reply was that Archidamus was not descended from Heracles, for Heracles, as he went about, punished the bad men, but Archidamus made the good men bad.

EUDAMIDAS[b]

1. Eudamidas, seeing Xenocrates, already well on in years, discussing philosophy with his pupils in the Academy, and being informed that he was seeking after virtue, said, "And when will he make use of it?"[c]

2. At another time, after he had listened to a philosopher who argued that the wise man is the only good general, he said, "The speech is admirable, but the speaker has never been amid the blare of trumpets."[d]

ANTIOCHUS

Antiochus, when he was an ephor, heard that Philip had given to the Messenians their land, whereupon he asked whether Philip had also given them the power to prevail in fighting to keep it.[e]

ANTALCIDAS[f]

1. Antalcidas, retorting to the Athenian who called the Spartans unlearned, said, "At any rate,

[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 220 D.
[b] *Ibid.* 220 D *infra*.
[c] Repeated *ibid.* 217 F.
[f] Spartan admiral and politician who negotiated the "Peace of Antalcidas" between Persia and Greece, 387 B.C.

(192) εἶπεν, "ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν μεμαθήκαμεν κακὸν παρ' ὑμῶν."

C 2. Ἑτέρου δὲ Ἀθηναίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, "ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς ἐδιώξαμεν," "ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδέποτε," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα."

3. Σοφιστοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος ἀναγινώσκειν ἐγκώμιον Ἡρακλέους, ἔφη, "τίς γὰρ αὐτὸν ψέγει;"

ΕΠΑΜΕΙΝΩΝΔΟΥ

1. Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοῦ Θηβαίου στρατηγοῦντος, οὐδέποτε πανικὸς θόρυβος ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

2. Ἔλεγε δὲ τὸν ἐν πολέμῳ θάνατον εἶναι κάλλιστον.

3. Τῶν δὲ ὁπλιτῶν δεῖν ἀπέφαινεν εἶναι τὸ σῶμα γεγυμνασμένον οὐκ ἀθλητικῶς μόνον ἀλλὰ
D καὶ στρατιωτικῶς· διὸ καὶ τοῖς πολυσάρκοις ἐπολέμει, καί τινα τοιοῦτον ἀπήλασε τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰπὼν ὅτι μόλις αὐτοῦ σκέπουσι τὴν γαστέρα ἀσπίδες τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες, δι' ἣν οὐχ ἑώρακεν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰδοῖον.

4. Οὕτω δὲ ἦν εὐτελὴς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ὥστε κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὑπὸ γείτονος εὑρὼν πεμμάτων

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 D. The saying is attributed to Pleistoanax in *Moralia*, 231 D, and in Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xx. (52 D).

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 D and 810 F, Plutarch's *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxi. (613 D). The Cephisus was a river near Athens, and the Eurotas a river near Sparta.

we alone have learned no evil from you Athenians." [a]

2. When another Athenian said to him, "You cannot deny that we have many a time put you to rout from the Cephisus," he said, "But we have never put you to rout from the Eurotas!" [b]

3. When a lecturer was about to read a laudatory essay on Heracles, he said, "Why, who says anything against him?" [c]

EPAMEINONDAS [d]

1. While Epameinondas the Theban was general, panic never fell upon his troops.

2. He used to say that the most beautiful death was death in war.

3. He used to declare that the heavy-armed soldier ought to have his body trained not only by athletic exercises but by military drill as well.[e] For this reason he always showed a repugnance towards fat men, and one such man he expelled from the army, saying that three or four shields would scarce serve to protect his belly, because of which he could not see a thing below it.[f]

4. He was so frugal in his manner of living that once, when he was invited to dinner by a neighbour, and found there an elaborate display of cake and

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 217 D.

[d] Famous Theban general and statesman, 420–362 B.C. These sayings were doubtless incorporated in Plutarch's *Life of Epameinondas*, now lost. A collection of stories about Epameinondas will be found in Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 3.

[e] *Cf.* Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 2. 4 and 5.

[f] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of M. Cato*, chap. ix. (341 c).

(192) καὶ ὄψων καὶ μύρων παρασκευὴν ἀπῆλθεν εὐθύς, εἰπών, " ἐγώ σε θύειν ᾠόμην οὐχ ὑβρίζειν."

5. Τοῦ δὲ μαγείρου τοῖς συνάρχουσιν ἡμερῶν τινων δαπάνην ἀπολογιζομένου, πρὸς μόνον ἠγανά-
E κτησε τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλαίου· θαυμασάντων δὲ τῶν συναρχόντων, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἔφη λυπεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' εἰ τοσοῦτον ἔλαιον ἐντὸς παραδέδεκται τοῦ σώματος.

6. Ἑορτὴν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγούσης καὶ πάντων ἐν πότοις καὶ συνουσίαις ὄντων, ἀπήντησέ τινι τῶν συνήθων αὐχμηρὸς καὶ σύννους βαδίζων· θαυμάζοντος δὲ καὶ πυνθανομένου τί δὴ μόνος οὕτως ἔχων περίεισιν, " ὅπως," εἶπεν, " ἐξῇ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν μεθύειν καὶ ῥᾳθυμεῖν."

7. Ἄνθρωπον δὲ φαῦλον ἐξημαρτηκότα τι τῶν μετρίων, τοῦ μὲν Πελοπίδα παρακαλοῦντος, οὐκ ἀφῆκε, τῆς δ' ἐρωμένης δεηθείσης, ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν
F ὅτι τοιαῦτα πρέπει λαμβάνειν ἑταιριδίοις, ἀλλὰ μὴ στρατηγοῖς.

8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιστρατευομένων ἀνεφέροντο χρησμοὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις, οἱ μὲν ἦτταν οἱ δὲ νίκην φράζοντες, ἐκέλευε τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τοῦ βήματος θεῖναι τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ. τεθέντων δὲ πάντων, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν, " ἐὰν μὲν ἐθελήσητε τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁμόσε χωρεῖν, οὗτοι ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ χρησμοί," δείξας τοὺς βελτίονας· " ἐὰν δὲ ἀποδειλιάσητε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκεῖνοι," πρὸς τοὺς χείρονας ἰδών.

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 1099 c, and perhaps Diogenes Laertius, vi. 28.

[b] *Cf.* Themistius, *Oration* vii. 88 c.

[c] *Cf. Moralia*, 808 E.

pastry and other dishes, and perfumes as well, he left at once, saying, " I thought this was to be a meal and not a display of arrogance." [a]

5. When the cook rendered his accounts to Epameinondas and his fellow-officers of the expenses for several days, Epameinondas showed indignation only at the great amount of olive oil. As his fellow-officers expressed their surprise, he said it was not the matter of expense that worried him, but that he had taken into his body so much oil.

6. While the city was keeping holiday, and all were busy with drinking and social enjoyment, Epameinondas, as he was walking along unwashed and absorbed in thought, met one of his intimate friends, who inquired in surprise why it was that he alone was going about in that state. " So that all of you," said he, " may get drunk and have a holiday." [b]

7. A worthless fellow, who was guilty of one of the minor offences, he would not let off at the request of Pelopidas, but, when the man's mistress pleaded for him, he let him off, saying that such favours may properly be received by strumpets, but not by generals.[c]

8. When the Spartans threatened an invasion, and oracles were reported to the Thebans, of which some told of defeat and others of victory, he ordered that these be placed at the right of the speakers' platform, and those at the left. When they had all been so placed, he arose and said, " If you are willing to obey your officers, and come to close quarters with the enemy, these are the oracles for you," and he pointed to those of good omen ; " but if you are going to play the cowards in the face of danger, then those," and he glanced at those of ill omen.

9. Πάλιν δὲ προσάγων τοῖς πολεμίοις, βροντῆς γενομένης καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πυνθανομένων τί
193 σημαίνειν οἴεται τὸν θεόν, ἐμβεβροντῆσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἶπεν ὅτι τοιούτων χωρίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἐν τοιούτοις στρατοπεδεύουσιν.

10. Ἥδιστον δὲ πάντων αὑτῷ τῶν γεγονότων καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔλεγε τὸ τοῦ[1] πατρὸς ἔτι ζῶντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐν Λεύκτροις νικῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίους.

11. Εἰωθὼς δὲ φαίνεσθαι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀληλιμμένος τὸ σῶμα καὶ φαιδρὸς τῷ προσώπῳ, μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προῆλθεν αὐχμηρὸς καὶ ταπεινός· τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐρωτώντων μή τι λυπηρὸν αὐτῷ συμπέπτωκεν, "οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἐχθὲς ᾐσθόμην ἐμαυτοῦ μεῖζον ἢ καλῶς ἔχει φρονήσαντος· διὸ σήμερον κολάζω τὴν
B ἀμετρίαν τῆς χαρᾶς."

12. Εἰδὼς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἐπικρυπτομένους τὰ τοιαῦτα συμπτώματα, καὶ βουλόμενος ἐξελέγξαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πᾶσι νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν ἀλλ' ἑκάστοις κατὰ πόλιν ἔδωκεν, ὥστε πλείονας ἢ χιλίους ὄντας ὀφθῆναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων.

13. Ἰάσονος δὲ τοῦ Θετταλῶν μονάρχου συμμάχου μὲν εἰς Θήβας παραγενομένου, δισχιλίους δὲ χρυσοῦς τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ πέμψαντος ἰσχυρῶς πενομένῳ, τὸ μὲν χρυσίον οὐκ ἔλαβε, τὸν δὲ

[1] τὸ τοῦ Bernardakis, comparing the other versions in Plutarch: τὸ τῶν γειναμένων αὐτὸν τοῦ.

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[a] *Cf.* Polyaenus, *Strategemata*, ii. 3. 3.

9. On another occasion, when he was leading his troops against the enemy, there came a thunder-stroke, and, when those about him inquired what he thought the god meant to signify by this, he replied, "That the enemy have been thunder-struck out of all sense because, when such places as those are near at hand, they pitch their camp in places such as these." [a]

10. He used to say that of all the fair and goodly fortune that had fallen to his lot the thing that gave him the greatest gratification was that his victory over the Spartans at Leuctra came while his father and mother were still living.[b]

11. It was his habit to appear at all times with a well-groomed body and a cheerful countenance, but on the day after that battle he went forth unwashed and with a look of dejection. When his friends asked if anything distressing had befallen him, he said, "Nothing; but yesterday I found myself feeling a pride greater than is well. Therefore to-day I am chastising my immoderate indulgence in rejoicing."

12. Knowing that the Spartans were wont to conceal such calamities as this, and wishing to bring out clearly the magnitude of their disaster, he did not grant them leave to remove their dead all together, but separately by cities, so that it was seen that the Spartan dead numbered over a thousand.[c]

13. When Jason, monarch of Thessaly, arrived at Thebes as an ally, he sent two thousand pieces of gold to Epameinondas, who was then sadly in want. Epameinondas did not take the money, but with a

[b] *Cf. Moralia*, 786 D and 1098 B, and Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus*, chap. iv. (215 C).

[c] The story is told with slightly more details by Pausanias, ix. 13. 11 and 12.

(193) Ἰάσονα θεασάμενος, "ἀδίκων," ἔφη, "χειρῶν ἄρχεις"· αὐτὸς δὲ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς δανει-
C σάμενος παρά τινος τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐφόδιον τῆς στρατιᾶς, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον.

14. Αὖθις δὲ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως τρισμυρίους δαρεικοὺς ἀποστείλαντος αὐτῷ, καθήψατο πικρῶς Διομέδοντος, εἰ τοσοῦτον πλοῦν πέπλευκε διαφθερῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν· πρὸς δὲ τὸν βασιλέα λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι τὰ συμφέροντα Θηβαίοις φρονῶν ἕξει προῖκα φίλον Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, τὰ δὲ μὴ συμφέροντα πολέμιον.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν ἐγένοντο σύμμαχοι Θηβαίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν παραγενόμενοι κατηγόρουν ἀμφοτέρων, καὶ Καλλί-
D στρατος ὁ ῥήτωρ ὠνείδισε τὸν Ὀρέστην καὶ τὸν Οἰδίποδα ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ὁμολογοῦμεν," ἔφη, "καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πατροκτόνον γενέσθαι καὶ παρ' Ἀργείοις μητροκτόνον· ἀλλὰ τοὺς ταῦτα δράσαντας ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐξεβάλομεν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ὑπεδέξαντο."

16. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγορήσαντας, "οὗτοι μέντοι," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς βραχυλογοῦντας ἔπαυσαν."

17. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φεραίων τύραννον
E πολέμιον ὄντα Θηβαίων Ἀθηναῖοι φίλον ἐποιήσαντο καὶ σύμμαχον ὑποσχόμενον αὐτοῖς ἡμιωβολίου τὴν μνᾶν κρεῶν ὤνιον παρέξειν, "ἡμεῖς δέ," ἔφη ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ξύλα προῖκα παρέξομεν

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[a] *Cf. Moralia*, 583 F, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[b] *Cf.* Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 4, where the same story is told in more words, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, v. 5, where the fact is recorded in very few words.

steadfast look at Jason said, "You are beginning wrong." Then he borrowed a couple of pounds from one of his fellow-citizens to meet his personal expenses in the campaign, and invaded the Peloponnesus.[a]

14. On a later occasion, when the king of the Persians sent twenty-five thousand pounds to him, he assailed Diomedon bitterly because he had made such a long voyage to corrupt Epameinondas; and he bade him say to the king that if the king should hold views conducive to the good of the Thebans, he should have Epameinondas as his friend for nothing; but if the reverse, then as his enemy.[b]

15. When the Argives entered the Theban alliance,[c] ambassadors of the Athenians arrived at Arcadia and accused both nations; and when Callistratus, the chief speaker, held up Orestes and Oedipus as a reproach to their respective cities, Epameinondas, rising to reply, said, "We admit that we have had a parricide among us, and the Argives a matricide; but we expelled from our land those who did these deeds, and the Athenians received them!"[d]

16. When the Spartans accused the Thebans of a long list of serious offences, he retorted, "These Thebans, however, have put a stop to your brevity of speech!"[e]

17. When the Athenians took as a friend Alexander, the despot of Pherae, who was an enemy of the Thebans, and he promised to supply the Athenians with meat to be sold at a penny a pound, Epameinondas said, "But we will supply them with

[c] In 370 B.C.

[d] *Cf. Moralia*, 810 F, and Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 6. 1-3.

[e] *Cf. Moralia*, 545 A.

Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὰ κρέα ταῦτα· τὴν γὰρ χώραν αὐτῶν τεμοῦμεν, ἂν πολυπραγμονῶσι."

18. Τοὺς δὲ Βοιωτοὺς ὑπὸ σχολῆς ἐκλυομένους ἀεὶ βουλόμενος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις συνέχειν, ὁπότε Βοιωτάρχης αἱρεθείη, παραινῶν[1] ἔλεγεν, "ἔτι βουλεύσασθε, ἄνδρες· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐγὼ στρατηγῶ, στρατευτέον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν"· καὶ τὴν χώραν ὑπτίαν οὖσαν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην 'πολέμου ὀρχήστραν' προσηγόρευεν, ὡς μὴ δυναμένους κρατεῖν αὐτῆς, ἂν μὴ τὴν χεῖρα διὰ πόρπακος ἔχωσι.

F 19. Τοῦ δὲ Χαβρίου περὶ Κόρινθον ὀλίγους τινὰς τῶν Θηβαίων ὑπὸ τὰ τείχη φιλομαχοῦντας καταβαλόντος καὶ στήσαντος τρόπαιον, ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας καταγελῶν ἔφη, "ἐνταῦθα δεῖ οὐ τρόπαιον ἀλλὰ Ἑκάταιον[2] ἑστάναι"· τὴν γὰρ Ἑκάτην ἐπιεικῶς ἐν ταῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἱδρύοντο τριόδοις.

20. Ἀπαγγείλαντος δέ τινος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι στράτευμα καινοῖς κεκοσμημένον ὅπλοις εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπεστάλκασι, "τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "Ἀντιγενίδας στένει[3] καινοὺς Τέλληνος αὐλοὺς ἔχοντος;" ἦν δὲ αὐλητὴς ὁ μὲν Τέλλην[4] κάκιστος, ὁ δὲ Ἀντιγενίδας κάλλιστος.

194 21. Τὸν δὲ ὑπασπιστὴν αἰσθόμενος εἰληφότα χρήματα πολλὰ παρ' ἀνδρὸς αἰχμαλώτου γεγονότος,

[1] παραινῶν] παριὼν S. A. Naber.
[2] There can be little doubt that Epameinondas said Ἑκάταιον, although the mss. have a later form Ἑκατήσιον.
[3] στένει] ὑστερεῖ S. A. Naber.
[4] Τέλλην Hatzidakis: Τέλλης.

wood to cook their meat for nothing; for we will cut down everything in their land, if they make any trouble."

18. The Boeotians, relaxed by leisure, he was always desirous of keeping continually under arms, and whenever he was chosen Governor of Boeotia he used to urge his advice upon the people, saying, "Bethink yourselves once more, men, for, if I am general, you will have to serve in my army." And he used to call their country, which was flat and exposed, 'the dancing-floor of War,'[a] intimating that they could not hold their power over it if they did not keep a grip on the handles of their shields.

19. Chabrias, in the vicinity of Corinth, having struck down some few Thebans whose eagerness led them to carry the fighting to the foot of the walls, set up a trophy.[b] Epameinondas, ridiculing it, said, "In that place should stand, not a trophy, but a Hecate"; for it was in keeping to set up an image of Hecate, as they used to do, at the meeting of three ways in front of the gates.

20. When somebody reported that the Athenians had sent an army, decked out with novel equipment, into the Peloponnesus, he said, "Why should Antigenidas cry if Tellen has a new flute or two?" (Tellen was the worst of flute-players, and Antigenidas the best.[c])

21. Learning that his shield-bearer had received a great deal of money from a man who had been taken

[a] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Marcellus*, chap. xxi. (310 B), where two other picturesque expressions of similar meaning are quoted.

[b] *Cf.* Diodorus, xv. 69.

[c] There are many references to the skill of Antigenidas; it must suffice here to refer only to *Moralia*, 335 A.

(194) "ἐμοὶ μέν," εἶπεν, "ἀπόδος τὴν ἀσπίδα, σεαυτῷ δὲ πρίω καπηλεῖον, ἐν ᾧ καταζήσεις· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἐθελήσεις κινδυνεύειν ὁμοίως εἷς τῶν πλουσίων γεγονὼς καὶ μακαρίων."

22. Ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ πότερον ἑαυτὸν ἡγεῖται βελτίονα στρατηγὸν ἢ Χαβρίαν ἢ Ἰφικράτην "δύσκριτον," εἶπεν, "ἕως ζῶμεν."

23. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὑποστρέψας ἔφευγε θανάτου δίκην μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων, ὡς ἐπιβαλὼν τῇ Βοιωταρχίᾳ παρὰ τὸν νόμον τέσ-
B σαρας μῆνας, τοὺς μὲν συνάρχοντας ἐκέλευεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν ὡς ἐκβιασθέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔφη βελτίονας ἔχειν τῶν ἔργων λόγους· εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι πάντως εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, ἀξιοῦν, ἂν ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν, ἐπιγράψαι τῇ στήλῃ τὴν καταδίκην, ὅπως οἱ Ἕλληνες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι μὴ βουλομένους Θηβαίους Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἠνάγκασε τὴν Λακωνικὴν πυρπολῆσαι, πεντακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς ἀδήωτον οὖσαν· οἰκίσαι δὲ Μεσσήνην δι' ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ διακοσίων· συντάξαι δὲ καὶ συναγαγεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸν Ἀρκάδας· ἀποδοῦναι δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὴν αὐτονομίαν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπράχθη κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν στρατείαν. ἐξῆλθον

[a] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9; Themistius, *Oration* vii., 88 c.

captive in the war, he said to him, " Give me back my shield, and buy yourself a tavern in which to spend the rest of your days ; for you will no longer be willing to face danger as before, now that you have become one of the rich and prosperous." [a]

22. Being asked whether he regarded himself or Chabrias or Iphicrates as the better general, he said, " It is hard to decide while we are alive."

23. Upon his return from Laconia he was put on trial for his life, together with his fellow-generals, for having added, contrary to the law, four months to his term of office as Governor of Boeotia. [b] He bade his fellow-officers to put the responsibility on him, as if their action had been dictated by him, and said that he himself had not any words to speak better than his deeds ; but if he absolutely must make a statement to the judges, he required from them as his just due, if they put him to death, to inscribe their sentence upon his tombstone, so that the Greeks might know that Epameinondas had compelled the Thebans against their will to lay waste Laconia with fire and sword, which for five hundred years [c] had been unravaged ; and that he had repopulated Messene after a space of two hundred and thirty years, and had organized the Arcadians and united them in a league, and had restored self-government to the Greeks. As a matter of fact, all these things had been accomplished in that cam-

[b] When the Thebans invaded the Peloponnesus, 370–369 B.C.

[c] Plutarch in his *Life of Agesilaus*, chap. xxxi. (613 B), says " not less than six hundred " ; one is probably as correct as the other.

C οὖν οἱ δικασταὶ σὺν πολλῷ γέλωτι μηδὲ τὰς
(194) ψήφους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναλαβόντες.

24. Ἐν δὲ τῇ τελευταίᾳ μάχῃ τρωθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἐκάλει Δαΐφαντον, εἶτα μετ' ἐκεῖνον Ἰολαΐδαν[1]· τεθνάναι δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας πυθόμενος ἐκέλευε διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος αὐτοῖς στρατηγοῦ. καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐμαρτύρησεν ὡς εἰδότος ἄριστα τοὺς πολίτας.

ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΟΥ

1. Πελοπίδας ὁ συστράτηγος Ἐπαμεινώνδου,[2]
τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν ἀμελεῖν λεγόντων πράγματος
D ἀναγκαίου, χρημάτων συναγωγῆς, "ἀναγκαῖα τὰ χρήματα νὴ Δία," εἶπε, "τούτῳ Νικοδήμῳ,[3]" δείξας χωλὸν καὶ ἀνάπηρον ἄνθρωπον.

2. Τῆς δὲ γυναικός, ἐπὶ μάχην ἐξιόντος αὐτοῦ, δεομένης σώζειν ἑαυτόν, ἄλλοις ἔφη δεῖν τοῦτο παραινεῖν, ἄρχοντι δὲ καὶ στρατηγῷ σώζειν τοὺς πολίτας.

[1] Ἰολαΐδαν Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 3: ἰολλίδαν (or ὑολλίδαν).

[2] Ἐπαμεινώνδου F.C.B. *Cf.* No. 6 *infra*: ἐπαμινώνδα, but there is no uniformity in the MSS. Bernardakis would read the dative, Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ, which is probably wrong.

[3] Νικοδήμῳ, *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. iii.: νικομήδει. S. A. Naber would read Νικόδημον, but the reading in the *Life* and in Aelian is against it.

[a] There are many references to this story, and it was even used as a *corpus vile* for argumentation in the schools, to judge from Cicero, *De inventione*, i. 33 (55-56) and 38 (69). The story is repeated in *Moralia*, 540 D and 799 E; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiii. 42; Pausanias, ix. 14. 5-7; Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 7. 3-8. 5. Appian, *Roman History*, *Syrian Wars*, 40-41, compares the action of Epameinondas

paign. Thereupon the judges left the court-room with hearty laughter, and did not even take up their ballots to cast against him.[a]

24. When in his last battle [b] he had been wounded and carried into a tent, he called for Daïphantus, and next after him for Iolaïdas, and, learning that the men were dead, he bade the Thebans to make terms with the enemy, since no general was left to them. And the facts bore out his words, for he best knew his fellow-citizens.[c]

PELOPIDAS

1. Pelopidas, the associate of Epameinondas in command, in reply to his friends who told him that he was neglecting a very necessary business, the amassing of money, said, "Yes, on my word, money is necessary—for Nicodemus here!"[d] as he pointed to a lame and crippled man.

2. As he was leaving home for the field of battle, his wife begged him to have a care for his life. "This advice," said he, "should be kept for others, but for a commander and general the advice should be to have a care for the lives of the citizens."[e]

with the similar action of Scipio Africanus Major (*Moralia*, 196 F); and this suggests the probability that Appian had before him Plutarch's Parallel *Lives* of Epameinondas and Scipio, now lost.

[b] At Mantineia, in 362 B.C.

[c] *Cf.* Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 3. Other authors lay stress on the fortitude with which he met his end. *Cf.* Diodorus, xv. 87; Cornelius Nepos, *Epaminondas*, xv. 9; Valerius Maximus, iii. 2, ext. 5; Justin, *Historiae Philippicae*, vi. 8.

[d] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. iii. (279 c) Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xi. 9.

[e] *Cf.* the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xix. (288 c).

(194) 3. Εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, "ἐμπεπτώκαμεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους," "τί μᾶλλον," εἶπεν, "ἢ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνοι;"

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρασπονδηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεραίων τυράννου καὶ δεθεὶς κακῶς αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, εἰπόντος ἐκείνου, "σπεύδεις ἀποθανεῖν;" "πάνυ μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἵνα μᾶλλον παροξυνθῶσι Θηβαῖοι, καὶ σὺ δίκην δῷς τάχιον."

5. Θήβης δὲ τῆς τοῦ τυράννου γυναικὸς ἐλθούσης πρὸς Πελοπίδαν καὶ λεγούσης θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὕτως ἱλαρός ἐστι δεδεμένος, αὐτὸς ἔφη μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἐκείνην, ὅτι μὴ δεδεμένη ὑπομένει Ἀλέξανδρον.

E 6. Κομισαμένου δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου, χάριν εἶπεν ἔχειν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ· πεπειρᾶσθαι[1] γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ νῦν μάλιστα οὐ μόνον πρὸς πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς θάνατον εὐθαρσῶς ἔχοντος.

[1] πεπειρᾶσθαι] πεπείραται some MSS.

3. When one of his soldiers said, "We have fallen among the enemy," he said, "Why any more than they among us?" [a]

4. When he fell a victim to the treachery of Alexander, despot of Pherae, and was put in bonds, he upbraided Alexander; and when the despot said, "Are you so eager to die," he replied, "Yes, I certainly am, so that the Thebans may become the more exasperated, and you may get your deserts the sooner." [b]

5. Thebe, the despot's wife, came to Pelopidas and said that she was amazed because he was so cheerful in his bonds. Pelopidas replied that he was even more amazed at her because she without being in bonds could abide Alexander.[c]

6. After Epameinondas had obtained his general's release, Pelopidas said that he felt grateful to Alexander; for by actual test he had now found himself more than ever to be of good courage not only in facing war but also in facing death.

[a] Repeated in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xvii. (286 D). A similar remark is attributed to Leonidas, *Moralia*, 225 B, *infra*, and to an unnamed Spartan, 234 B, *infra*.

[b] *Cf.* Plutarch's *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xxviii. (293 A).

[c] *Ibid.* (293 B).